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1499

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS:

Part the Second;

EMBRACING

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD,

FROM THE

DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS;

WITH A

SURVEY OF PRECEDING PERIODS,

AND A CONTINUATION OF

THE HISTORY OF ARTS AND LETTERS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

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Εκ μην τοιγε της ἁπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ὁμοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως τις αν εφικοιτο, και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, ἁμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ἱστοριας λαβειν.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS,

FROM THE DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER XV.

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HAVING, in the two preceding chapters, related those transactions in Syria and Egypt which prepared the way for a long series of Roman tri- CHAP. XV. State of Greece

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and Macedon at the accession of Philip IV. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

umphs, I proceed, according to the method prescribed, to those contemporary events in Macedon and Greece, which strongly co-operated towards the same end. Under the prudent administration of Antigonus Doson, Macedon maintained a high ascendency in Greece, without affecting sovereignty. Antigonus restrained and punished the dangerous rapacity of the Etolians; he defeated the proud and preposterous hopes of Sparta, but spared that city and its inhabitants; he was a steady friend to the Achæans and Acarnanians, because these nations were ever friendly to the maxims of moderation and justice. The greater part of Thessaly had remained long subject to Macedon. The Bœotians, Phocians, and Epirots were submissive allies to the same kingdom; and, by his well-garrisoned strong-holds of Corinth and Orchomenus, Antigonus was enabled seasonably and effectually to interpose in maintaining the tranquillity of Peloponnesus. All these advantages descended to his successor Philip IV. together with unusual security on his northern frontier, and the hereditary friendship of Aratus, the virtuous and able pretor of the Achæan confederacy.

The Etolians, their character and views.

In this prosperous condition of Greece and Macedon, the public tranquillity was first disturbed by the Etolians, who contemned the youth of Philip, and saw but little to apprehend from those ministers whom Antigonus had appointed to guide his councils.[1] The maxims of

[1] Polybius, l. iv c. 2.

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the Etolians were different from those of the other states which had formerly been the prime movers in all wars and negociations. The Spartans, Athenians, and Thebans had successively fought for pre-eminence; and when this object was defeated, through the preponderancy of Macedonian power, they were ready to lay down their arms. But the Etolians, careless of glory, were principally intent on plunder. Instead of the transient emotions of ambition, they were actuated by the permanent impulse of avarice; and with them, a good ground for war was never wanting, when depredations might be committed with impunity.[2] The death of Antigonus Doson seemed highly propitious to their views. Notwithstanding the coercion of their encroachments by that able prince, they still possessed several strong-holds in distant parts of Greece, which favoured their piracy by sea, as well as their robbery by land. They were masters of Ambracus, on the Ambracian gulph; of Pallé, in the island of Cephallenia; of the strong cities of Thebes and Echinus, both on the coast of Phthiotis. Their inland garrisons occupied Melitæa, and some smaller posts on the mountainous skirts of Thessaly. In this manner their scattered usurpations in the north, extended between the Ægæan and Ionian seas[3]; while on the side of Peloponnesus, they flattered themselves with the good will of the Elians and Spartans, inveterate enemies to the Achæan league, and

Their possessions and allies.

[2] Polybius, l. ii. c. 45. et seq.

[3] Id. l. iii. & iv. passim.

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had strongly garrisoned[4] Phigalia, a city twelve miles from the sea, near the northern frontier of Messenia, the only district in the Peninsula which had escaped depredation in the Cleomenic war.

Dorimachus the Etolian, his audacious proceedings in Messenia. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

Conformably with the maxims of his nation, Dorimachus, a young Etolian of boiling courage, proceeded to Phigalia, and was speedily resorted to there, by a band of pirates. In defiance of the general peace, which Antigonus had established throughout Greece, the Etolian encouraged his pirates to carry off the herds of the Messenians from the sea-coast, and afterwards to penetrate into the very centre of the country, and to plunder, chiefly in the night-time, the farms and villages. When repeated remonstrances against these proceedings were brought to Phigalia, the robber declared that he would come to Messené itself, and there in person do justice to the injured. He was descended from a family pre-eminent, even among the Etolians, for deeds of rash and unprincipled audacity. Not to degenerate from his ancestors, he appeared at Messené; and, instead of making the reparation expected, treated with the utmost indignity those who urged their wrongs; deriding some, threatening others, and denying justice to all. While he still remained in Messené, the pirates advanced within a small distance of its walls, assaulted in the night a village called the farm of Chiron, killed those who opposed their

[4] Polybius, l. iv. c. 3.

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violence, and after binding the remainder, carried promiscuously slaves and cattle aboard their fleet.[5] Nothing can more strongly attest the awe in which the peaceful Messenians then stood of the fierce Etolians, than their forbearance to take summary vengeance on Dorimachus, the author of this enormity. He was cited to appear before a council, composed of the principal members of the government.[6] On this occasion, Sciron, one of the Ephori, advised that Dorimachus should not be allowed to leave the city until the murderers were surrendered to justice. The other magistrates having assented to this opinion, Dorimachus upbraided their folly, in thinking to detain his person without provoking the immediate vengeance of Etolia. This threat piqued Sciron, a man of no less spirit than probity, to whom the following circumstance afforded an opportunity of abashing the haughty robber. There lived in Messené an infamous youth, so like in face and person to Dorimachus, that they might easily have been mistaken for each other; and, with this circumstance, the Etolian was well acquainted. Babyrtas was the name of the wretched Messenian, stigmatised for every vice most disgraceful to a man. In reply to Dorimachus, who had spoken with much vehemence, Sciron therefore asked, in a firm tone, "Do you think that we shall mind you, or your threats, Babyrtas?" The application of

His insolence abashed by Sciron, one of the Messenian Ephori.

5 Polybius, l. iv. c. 4. et seq.

6 Συναρχια. Polyb. l. iv. c. 4.

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this single name covered Dorimachus with confusion.[7] He consented that restitution should be made, and that the guilty should be punished; but, being allowed shortly afterwards to return to Etolia, he resumed his former practices, and excited what is called the Social war, which lasted three years.

Commencement of the social war. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

Ariston at that time was pretor of the Etolians, who, on account of bodily infirmity, committed the military department of his office to his kinsman Scopas, a man also related to Dorimachus, and of a similar character. As two such persons readily concurred in the same rash views, and their most audacious measures were sure of meeting with approbation from the Etolian multitude, they did not wait for a decree of the assembly, or the authority of the senate.[8] In defiance of forms, sanctioned by law and long usage, they at once made war on the Messenians, as well as on those nations most likely to espouse the cause of the injured. Their pirates issued from Cephallenia, and ravaged the coasts of Epirus; another band assaulted, but without effect, Thyreum in Acarnania; beyond the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, a rich merchant-vessel belonging to Macedon was captured off the island Cythera, and carried into a harbour of Etolia, where the ship, with all persons on board her, was sold at public auction. By land, the proceedings of the Etolians were

[7] Polybius, l. iv. c. 4.

[8] Αποκλητοι. A select body, whose concurrence was necessary in all public measures. Conf. Polyb. l. xx. c. 1. & l. xxi. c. 3.

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equally unwarrantable; particularly in surprising Clarium, a strong-hold on the Arcadian frontier, which they purposed to render a depository for the spoil collected from the adjacent province of Messenia. But in this design they were defeated by Taurion, commander of the Macedonian garrison in Orchomenus, assisted by Timoxenus, then pretor of Achaia. Having united their forces, these generals marched hastily to Clarium, and, in the course of a few days, recovered that fortress.

Aratus, upon the resignation of Timoxenus, takes the field against them. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

The time now approached when Timoxenus, on the eleventh of May, was to lay down his office, and to make room for the fifteenth pretorship of Aratus in the course of thirty years.[9] The Etolians, in order to anticipate this change, which seemed little favourable to their views, assembled a great army at Rhium, a promontory and harbour of Etolia, scarcely two miles distant from Anti-Rhium, in Achaia. Having transported their forces across the narrow frith, they proceeded through the districts of Patræ and Tritæa; their generals, Dorimachus and Scopas, though they affected unwillingness to offend the Achæan league, being at little pains to restrain the depredations of their followers. In this manner they marched through Achaia to the friendly province of Elis, and from thence to their strong-hold Phigalia, from which they began to plunder unmercifully the best possessions of the Messenians. The Achæans had by this

[9] Plutarch in Arat.

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time convened in their vernal assembly. They were indignant at the wrongs done by the Etolians to some of the oldest members of their league; they compassionated the sufferings of the Messenians, though that people were neither united with them in government, nor parties to the confederacy subsisting between Achaia and Macedon, comprehending most other Grecian commonwealths. But Timoxenus, the actual pretor, was a man of little enterprise: he knew that his countrymen, trusting to the stability of the last peace in Peloponnesus, had neglected their arms and exercises. He declined therefore to lead the Achæans into the field, but readily resigned his office, five days before its appointed term, to the zeal and spirit of Aratus.[10]

Battle of Caphyæ, in Arcadia. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 221.

This illustrious patriot summoned the Achæans, through all their cities, to meet him in arms at Megalopolis, fifteen miles distant from Phigalia, the principal rendezvous of the enemy. When the army was fully assembled, not excepting the Lacedæmonians who had marched in aid of a confederacy to which they were secretly hostile, Aratus sent heralds to the Etolians, commanding them immediately to quit Messenia, and to be careful, in their return homeward, not to enter Achaia. Upon receiving this message from a man commanding an army more numerous than their own, Dorimachus and Scopas prepared for compliance. They or-

[10] Polybius, l. iv. c. 6.

dered their transports to rendezvous at the island and harbour of Phlias, on the coast of Elis, and two days afterwards began to march thither. Aratus, upon assurances of this intention, dismissed the greater part of his army, and with a body of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, besides the Macedonians under Taurion, followed at some distance the retiring enemy.[11] When the Etolians discovered that their motions were watched by an inferior force, they suddenly faced about, and returning towards the Achæans, found them encamped in the plain of Caphyæ, defended by a river in front, and also by several deep trenches. Not daring to attack this post, especially as the enemy showed great willingness to engage, they hastened across the plain to the adjacent height; and the cavalry, which closed their march, had nearly reached the hill called Propus, when the Achæan pretor sent against them his light infantry and horse. Although this detachmen began to skirmish with the rear, the Etolian cavalry still retired in good order, to gain the support of its infantry. Aratus mistaking this movement for flight, ordered his heavy-armed troops to join in the pursuit. Before the most advanced phalangites approached the foot of the mountains, the Etolians had rallied in great force, and totally defeated the Achæan targeteers and cavalry. The heavy troops that came to their assistance, perplexed at the un-

The Achæans defeated.

[11] Plutarch in Arato. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 11. et seq.

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expected disaster, and being themselves in the loose order of march, also turned their backs, and were carried along with the fugitives; from whence it happened, that although five hundred Achæans only had engaged the enemy, those that now fled exceeded two thousand. Their flight would have been less dishonourable than useful, had they found the main division, headed by Aratus in person, on the advantageous ground which it had originally occupied; but, as this division hastened towards them in a long and broken train, the evil was without remedy, and the rout became general. The neighbouring cities, particularly Caphyæ and Orchomenus, opened their friendly gates, otherwise the whole Achæan army must have perished disgracefully. The Etolians, elated with success, marched towards the Corinthian gulph, plundering the district of Sicyon and other Achæan dependencies in their way, and then hastened to their own country, loaded with booty, and with the weight of crimes not likely to pass unpunished. Meanwhile, the Achæans assembled in council at Ægeum. Their country had been twice invaded by a merciless enemy; but postponing the consideration of such injuries, the assembly resounded with complaints against the misconduct of Aratus. His enemies in the government accused him of bringing on a battle unnecessarily, and of fighting it unskilfully. Through what unaccountable folly could he break up his army, while the Etolians were still in the heart of Peloponnesus? Was it for this,

Aratus accused of misconduct.

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that he had wrested the pretorship from Timoxenus before its legal expiration? He had been twice deluded by a common and superficial stratagem: first, when the Etolians made a pretence of retreating homewards, only that they might surprise his disbanded force: secondly, when in the action itself they affected to fly, only to return more vigorously to the charge. If, in opposition to all rules of prudence, he had determined to come to battle, he ought at least to have fought it on the plain: there, the heavy-armed Achæans would have availed themselves of their military arrangements and their weapons: on the mountains, the Etolians found every thing best adapted to their arms, their tactics, and their desultory habits of warfare.

His defence.

These accusations, just as they were, did not discourage Aratus from entering into his defence. Having described his unwearied exertions in the service of the Achæan league, he maintained that his actions ought to be examined with indulgent candour, not with sharpness and severity. Faults in conduct he did not deny, nor would he attempt to palliate them; but his principles were sound, and his intentions pure. The multitude soothed by modesty joined with merit, changed from anger against him to the highest favour; testifying much resentment at his accusers, and submitting in future all their affairs to his management.[12]

[12] Plutarch in Arato. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 14.

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Embassies of the Achæans to their confederates. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 221.

A decree passed the council for assembling the Achæans in arms, and for summoning the aid of their allies. Ambassadors were dispatched to the Phocians, Acarnanians, Bœotians, Epirots, above all, to king Philip, stating the outrages of the Etolians, and requesting that the Messenians, who had so dreadfully suffered by them, might be admitted into the general confederacy.[13] In Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians and Messenians agreed to furnish respectively a body of two thousand five hundred men; but instead of fulfilling this promise, the former people sent privately to make a treaty with the Etolians. Notwithstanding the flight of Cleomenes to Egypt, his partisans were all-powerful in Sparta; they had prevented the substitution of any new king in his stead, vainly expecting his return; and, in the mean time, the republic was governed by annual magistrates, deeply infected with the wild projects of Cleomenes, and inveterately hostile to Achaia and Macedon, by which powers, chiefly, his dangerous views had been defeated.[14] In the north of Greece, the motions of the confederates depended on those of Philip. The Thessalians were his subjects; the Epirots, since the extinction of the line of their renowned Pyrrhus, formed an inconsiderable and subservient republic; the Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Phocians had, all of them, been long accustomed to fear the Macedonians, and in the late reign to

[13] Polybius, l. iv. c. 15. & c. 26.
[14] Plutarch in Cleomen. & Polybius, l. iv. c. 16.

love and respect them. Under these circumstances, decisive measures on the part of Macedon might have restored public tranquillity. But Philip was only in his eighteenth year: his ministers were weak, perfidious, and at variance with each other; while such neighbours as the Thracians and Illyrians always appeared formidable to a new king of Macedon. Philip, therefore, though he agreed to admit the Messenians into the confederacy, yet hesitated about declaring war against the Etolians. It was usual with that people to commit unprovoked injuries, to break through all laws, to violate all engagements. In them, such proceedings, being matters of course, excited no surprise, and occasioned slight resentment; so true it is, that men are in all things guided by custom, and therefore more willing to overlook long continued and uniform habits of wickedness, than to pardon any new and unexpected act of injustice.[15]

Considerations which made Macedon reluctant in declaring war.

While the confederates still deliberated with little unanimity, the Etolians were already in the field. Having associated with them, through promise of plunder, some Illyrian pirates, they invaded the Peloponnesus, and entered the central province of Arcadia. In the north of that province, Cynætha was the head of a district, the wildest and roughest in the whole mountainous territory.[16] It was inhabited by rugged herdsmen, who scorned those arts that had been so successfully employed by their neighbours for

Cynætha in Arcadia — the brutishness of its inhabitants.

[15] Polybius, l. iv. c. 16. [16] Ibid. c. 16. et seq.

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taming savageness and polishing rusticity. Of all the Arcadians, the people of Cynætha alone disdained the culture of music, which was taught and exercised in Greece, not merely as an agreeable pastime, the soother of care and the sweetener of leisure, but as an art highly contributing towards the refinement of pleasure from voluptuousness, and of valour from ferocity. The brutishness of the Cynæthians made them despise this liberal pursuit; and their neglect of an acquirement, in which the other Arcadians universally took delight, heightened the depravity of their character, and the universal detestation accompanying it. Odious abroad, they were divided into cruel factions at home. One party banished three hundred of their adversaries, and submitted to the protection of the Achæans. The exiles, affecting repentance, solicited permission to return. The party which had expelled them, referred this request to the Achæan council. The Achæans advised compliance and sincere reconciliation, thinking to excite gratitude in persons so highly benefited. But these thankless villains had no sooner set foot on their native soil, than, as if treachery had been meditated in the very act of swearing amity over the sacred victims, they entered into secret practices with the Etolians for betraying to them their city. To this atrocious engagement they were faithful. A portion of them, employed promiscuously with other inhabitants in the night-watch, assailed suddenly their comrades on duty, and having put them to the sword, gave ad-

Their dissensions and destruction,

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mission to the Etolians, who, according to concert, were at hand. Cynætha was thus taken, and treated most unmercifully; even the Cynæthian traitors being subjected to the same cruelties with their betrayed brethren. After the houses had been carefully ransacked, torture compelled the discovery of treasures yet concealed in them. The Etolians, before leaving Peloponnesus, offered the desolate city to their Elian allies, but as *they* refused the present, Cynætha was set on fire and abandoned to the flames. The neighbouring cities of Lussi and Cleitor, were threatened with a similar fate. The former purchased safety by surrendering some consecrated ornaments in the temple of Diana; and the latter was more honourably protected by the strength of its walls, and the bravery of its citizens. Without completely satiating their rapacity, the Etolians thus returned home by the way of Rhium; for their own coasts were in danger from another party of Illyrian pirates, in the interest of Macedon; and that kingdom was preparing to engage vigorously in the war.[17]

Philip marches into Peloponnesus. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

Shortly after their departure, Philip arrived at Corinth with a powerful escort. From thence he dispatched messengers to all the states in the league, inviting their deputations to concert with him the measures fittest to be pursued at the present juncture. Before the return of his couriers, he was informed that Sparta was torn

17 Polybius, c. 16. et seq.

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Seditions in Sparta.

by sedition. This news made him proceed southwards to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians, favourers to Cleomenes and his wild innovations, fearful that Philip's approach might give courage to their adversaries, had massacred those most likely to become their leaders. This enormity was speedily followed by other deeds equally atrocious; all of them committed under the pretence of liberty and equality, and terminating, as outrageous proceedings in favour of political freedom naturally end, in the establishment of a vigilant and cruel tyranny, which lasted twenty years under the military usurpers Machanidas and Nabis.

Philip's moderation and good policy in appeasing them.

On the present occasion, the party, now master of the government, sent deputies to Philip to vindicate their own innocence, and accuse the persons who were slain, as authors of the tumult. At the same time they assured the king, that the Lacedæmonians were determined to observe most faithfully the terms of their alliance with him; and that no state whatever surpassed their sincerity, zeal, and complete devotion to his interests and those of the confederacy. When the deputies retired, Philip, who had heard them in council, desired the opinion of his ministers. All agreed that the enormity of the Spartans ought not to pass unpunished: the most moderate were of opinion that the government should be wrested from the hands of men who had acquired it so unwarrantably: the more violent stimulated Philip to exemplary vengeance, exhorting him to signalize

his accession to the throne by the destruction of sanguinary Sparta, as the great Alexander, however humane in his nature, had begun his reign by the demolition of perfidious and incorrigible Thebes. The king spoke last; and, being then only in his eighteenth year, the sentiments which he delivered are ascribed to the suggestion of Aratus. Philip said, "that in the domestic concerns of his allies, he did not think himself entitled to interfere. When great wrongs were committed, he would indeed interpose his advice and admonition with regard to the means best fitted either to redress them, or to prevent their recurrence. Farther than this, he was convinced that he had not any right to go. The case was different, when any of the allies manifestly violated the compact, by which they were all bound to Macedon and to each other. But even then, the perverse communities were to be coerced, not by himself individually, but by the confederates in general. That the Lacedæmonians had done nothing against the league, with the terms of which, on the contrary, they had declared their resolution strictly and zealously to comply. That the regulation of their internal government, belonged to themselves only; and that, if he dealt with them rigorously for errors in domestic management, he could not fail to incur the censure of mankind when they contrasted his behaviour with that of his predecessor, who had treated the same people with clemency, after conquering

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them as enemies in a just war."[18] Conformably with these sentiments, it was determined that no inquiry should be made concerning the recent transactions in Sparta. Ambassadors were sent, however, to that city, to administer the federal oath to its new magistrates; and Philip repaired to Corinth to meet the deputations which he summoned thither, from the different members of the league.

Convention of the allies at Corinth—fruitless negociation with the Etolians.

In this convention, there was not a single state that had not wrongs to urge against the lawless and impious Etolians. It was decreed that war should be carried on against that ferocious people, until they relinquished all their possessions beyond the limits of their own narrow territory, and until all those cities, which, under the name of allies they oppressed as subjects, should be restored to the enjoyment of their ancient laws and hereditary government; and be left untaxed, ungarrisoned, and independent. Philip, with that moderation and forbearance, which long distinguished all his measures, informed the Etolians by letter of this decree, that they might send deputies to the convention, if they had any thing to allege in extenuation of their offences. The chiefs of the Etolians answered, that they would meet the king at Rhium, and endeavour to give him satisfaction. They thought, that either his fear or his pride would decline the meeting: but this expectation being disappointed, they wrote to him a second

[18] Polybius, l. iv. c. 25. et seq.

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time, saying that, as the general assembly of the Etolians had not yet convened, it was not lawful for them to enter into discussions concerning national affairs. Their assembly met soon afterwards in September; for the Etolians held their annual elections at the autumnal equinox. In defence of their past misconduct, they elected for pretor Scopas, the main coadjutor of Dorimachus in all his late outrages. They had shut their eyes to their own injustice, and foolishly imagined that the world would continue blind to it.[19]

Various passions and delays among the confederates.

Yet much remained to be done before their injuries could be retorted. It was necessary that the decree of the convention should be ratified by the assembly of each state in particular. So dreadful was the terror which the Etolians had diffused around them, that none of the confederates wished to be the first in arms. The Messenians though distinguished by the severity of their sufferings, were overawed by the neighbouring garrison of Phigalia. The Epirots, sadly degenerate from their ancient spirit, declined to march, till Philip was ready to reinforce them. The Acarnanians, though their country was immediately interposed between Epirus and Etolia, showed less reluctance than any other people to take the field, such was the manly sense of honour by which they were actuated; their zeal for liberty, and firmness in alliance.[20] Philip, meanwhile, had returned to Macedon to complete his preparations. The indulgence and

[19] Polybius, l. iv. c. 24. et seq.

[20] Polybius, l. iv. c. 30.

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good policy which he had shown with regard to Sparta, had given to him many partisans in that city. Though the Etolians sent an agent thither, to renew their secret practices, the Lacedæmonians, in general, were so deeply affected by Philip's moderation, that they determined rather to adhere to their public engagements with Macedon and her allies. But this resolution had scarcely passed, when the baffled party cut off its authors in a new and more bloody sedition; and as accounts of Cleomenes's death just arrived from Egypt, named Lycurgus for his successor, a man who had no fair pretensions to the throne, and who made his way to that dignity through credit with the Etolians, and by bribing with a talent each of the five Ephori.[21] At the same time, Agesipolis, a child, was chosen king from the family of the Agidæ, merely by way of form, in compliance with their ancient polity.

Lycurgus, a partisan of the Etolians, usurps the government of Sparta.

Bold enterprise against the Achæan city Ægira. Olymp. cxl. 1. B.C. 220.

Before Philip and his confederates had prepared for action, the Lacedæmonians, under Lycurgus, invaded the Argive territory; and the Elians, headed by Euripides, an Etolian, entered the nearest districts of Achaia. Nor were the Etolians themselves remiss in forming new expeditions, worthy of their character. Ægira was a city seven stadia from the sea, midway between Sicyon and Ægium, situate on rough hills difficult of access, and overlooking the Corinthian gulph directly opposite to Delphi

[21] Polybius, l. iv. c. 35.

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and Parnassus. A deserter from Etolia had been admitted into the place, and observed, that the gate towards Ægium was entrusted to men often stupified by wine, and always negligent in duty. Upon this discovery, he applied to Dorimachus, who, being ever ready for such enterprises, crossed the gulph with a multitude of his countrymen in the night, and cast anchor in the river Crius, which flowed by the city. The deserter was prepared to receive them: he chose twenty of the most daring of the band; and having conducted them by different paths with which he was well acquainted, secretly penetrated into the place through the conduit of an aqueduct. He slew the heedless watchmen in their beds; broke the bars of the ill-guarded gate with hatchets; and threw open the entrance to his countrymen. The Etolians, who soon arrived in great numbers, behaved as if those, who had once gained admission into a city, were thereby its masters. The greater part of them separated for the purpose of depredation; and while their stragglers were employed in breaking open the houses and rifling their contents, the Ægirates had time to assemble in sufficient force to attack and repel those who still remained in a body. They were pursued with great fury; many were stifled at the gate, and many driven headlong down the precipices. Dorimachus having lost his boldest companions, disgracefully escaped to his boats.[22]

Defeated by the bravery of the Ægirates.

[22] Polybius, l. iv. c. 57. et seq.

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Delays and impolicy of the Achæans.

It was the misfortune of the Achæans, that their contingents of troops and their contributions in money were raised with extreme slowness. This delay enabled the Spartan Lycurgus to gain possession of several small fortresses in Arcadia, and Euripides, the Etolian general commanding the Elians, to seize others still more important in Achaia; from which he greatly infested that province. Dymé, Pharæ, and Tritæa suffered most by these incursions; and as they derived not any assistance from the confederacy, they applied the money due from them to the league to the raising of cavalry for the protection of their respective districts; a measure enforced by strong necessity, but of most pernicious example.[23]

Philip enters the Etolian territories. Olymp. cxl. 1. B. C. 220.

When the month of May came round, the Achæans chose the younger Aratus pretor in room of his father. Philip, in the same month, began his march from Macedon at the head of so great a force, that, had he at once penetrated into Etolia, he would have made a most seasonable diversion in favour of the Achæans, and in all probability have put a speedy end to the war.[24] But through the pressing instances of the Epirots, who had joined him in great numbers, he was prevailed on to lay siege to Ambracus, a place of much importance on the Ambracian gulph, which, penetrating above thirty miles inland, divides Epirus from Acarnania.

Takes Ambracus and restores it to the Epirots.

[23] Polybius, l. iv. c. 60. Conf. Plut. in Arat.

[24] Ibid. l. iv. c. 61.

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Ambracus was well fortified by nature and art; being situate in the middle of a marsh, that could be passed by only one narrow causeway, and also strongly defended by a wall and outworks. It commanded the adjoining country, as well as the city of Ambracia; which had been the capital of Epirus under the renowned Pyrrhus, but which was now held by the Etolians. Philip spent forty days in forming mounds and approaches in the marsh, before the enemy were brought to capitulation through fear of being put to the sword. The fortress and all the neighbouring territory, he resigned to the Epirots their ancient owners.

Expels the Etolians from their fortresses in Acarnania.

He then crossed the Ambracian gulph, where narrowest, to an ancient temple of the Acarnanians, called Actium, and destined, under that name, to high renown in history, as the scene of action between Augustus and Antony for the mastership of the Roman world. At this place, the gulph is scarcely half a mile broad [25], but it afterwards spreads into the expanse of ten miles, and extends twenty miles inland from Actium to Amphilochian Argos. In Acarnania, Philip being joined by two thousand foot and two hundred horse belonging to that republic, proceeded to the river Achelous, which flowing from mount

[25] Before the strait at Actium, there is another still narrower at Anactorium, communicating immediately with the Ionian sea. From this sea, Actium is distant ten miles, nearly a third part of the length of the whole gulph. Inattention to local circumstances has greatly perplexed the battle of Actium, and the operations preceding and following it: but of this hereafter.

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Pindus into the Corinthian gulph, anciently separated Acarnania from Etolia. But the Etolians were now masters on both sides of the river. Philip attacked their numerous strong-holds extending thirty miles along the lower part of its course; and, though many of them were well fortified by walls and towers, and ably defended, his perseverance prevailed in reducing Phætæa, Stratus, Illoria, Elæus, and Pæanium down to Œniadæ at the river's mouth. This last named place, distant only ten miles from Dymé in Achaia, Philip determined to secure in future, and began strongly to fortify it[26] with materials conveyed from other Etolian strong-holds, which he had recently demolished. But his labours were interrupted by important intelligence from home.

Is recalled by the invasion of Pieria, and the motions of the Dardanians.

While he was occupied by sieges at one extremity of the Etolian dominions, that people had drained their garrisons in the other, and made an irruption into the Pierian plain, one of the finest districts of Macedon. There, they had sacked the city of Dium venerable for its temples and festivals, and for the statues of Alexander's companions who fell in the battle of Granicus, as well as those of the long series of Macedonian kings. Philip had not suspended his operations on the first intelligence of this inroad, but he was now informed that the Dardanians, an Illyrian nation, were hovering on his northern frontier. At such a crisis, he could

[26] Polybius, l. iv. c. 64. & 65.

not safely proceed southward to Peloponnesus. He sent therefore to assure the Achæans, who plied him with successive embassies, that as soon as he had dissipated the present danger, he would think of nothing but how to afford them the most effectual aid. His unexpected return to Pella, of which the Illyrians were informed by deserters, struck these barbarians with such terror, that they immediately dispersed to their respective cantons. But, as the corn was now ripe, the Macedonians could not be withdrawn from home before they had reaped their harvest. Philip, however, proceeded to Larissa in Thessaly; the affairs of that province detained him there till winter, when, being again joined by his army, particularly three thousand brazen[27] shielded hypaspists, he passed into Eubœa to avoid the straits of Thermopylæ, crossed from Chalcis to Bœotia, and thence proceeded to Corinth.

Philip's winter campaign in Peloponnesus. Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

His march was performed with so much celerity and at such an unusual season, that it totally escaped the notice of his enemies in Peloponnesus. To keep it still a secret, he shut the gates of Corinth, and made the roads in that neighbourhood be strictly guarded. Meanwhile he called the elder Aratus from Sicyon, and also wrote to his son of the same name, then pretor of the Achæans. He then marched towards Arcadia; and near Stymphalus, on the frontier of that province, surprised a body of three thou-

[27] I particularise these troops for a reason that will appear presently.

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sand Elians, who had advanced to ravage Sicyonia. Euripides, their Etolian leader, had gained information of Philip's approach, but did not think proper to communicate the intelligence to his troops, although, by counter-marching, he had endeavoured to avoid the enemy. But it happened that while the Macedonian van mounted the hill Apelaurus, the Elians reached, and their foremost surmounted, that rough ascent. Euripides with a few horsemen escaped through bye-ways to the strong-hold of Psophis. His soldiers, though perplexed at the unaccountable flight of their leader, were persuaded to keep their ranks, being assured by those who succeeded to the command, that the troops whom they beheld, could be no other than some contemptible Achæans, who had at length taken courage to defend their possessions. The delusion was strengthened, on observing the brazen bucklers of the enemy; for Antigonus Doson had formerly armed, in that manner, the Megalopolitans whose uncommon zeal in the public cause would not fail to augment the Achæan army. But the nearer approach of the Macedonians having revealed the truth, the Elians threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight; scarcely one hundred of them escaped captivity or death: this complete victory gave the first intimation of Philip's arrival in Peloponnesus.[28]

He surprises and defeats the Elians.

The Macedonians continued their march through Arcadia, and suffered much hardship

Is joined by the younger Aratus.

[28] Polybius, l. iv. c. 68. et seq.

in passing mountains then covered with deep snow. On the third day they arrived at Caphyæ, nearly midway between Stymphalus and Psophis, into which latter place Euripides had thrown himself. The king halted two days for refreshment at Caphyæ, until he was joined by the younger Aratus, at the head of some Achæan forces, which made the whole army now exceed ten thousand men. His enemies were not likely to face him in the field, but it was Philip's intention to dispossess them of their strong-holds, for which purpose he collected ladders and machines from all the cities through which he passed.

Takes Psophis and inferior cities in Arcadia.

Psophis, against which he first directed his arms, was a very ancient city in the centre of Peloponnesus, and though within the Arcadian frontier, now strictly associated with the Elians, from whom it had received a garrison. It was inclosed between a deep torrent descending from mount Scaurus on the west, and not fordable in winter, and the famed river Erymanthus, ennobled by the exploits of Hercules. The two streams united a little beyond the southern walls of the city. Thus defended on three sides by water, a steep hill, skilfully fortified, served it on the north for a citadel. It was also surrounded by walls in complete repair, and of unusual height. These obstacles did not discourage Philip. He passed the Erymanthus by a bridge which the enemy unaccountably neglected to destroy. His scaling-ladders were at once raised on every side, and the soldiers, who fell in the assault, were succeeded with such alacrity by fresh troops,

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that the besieged ceased from resistance and retreated into the citadel. Want of provisions obliged them to capitulate. Philip strictly observed the conditions granted to them, relieved their present necessities, and advised them to remain in their place of safety, until his army had moved forward, lest any of them might be pillaged or insulted by his soldiers. The tempestuous weather detained him a few days in Psophis. At his departure, he gave the city to the Achæans, accompanying the gift with many professions of good-will to their commonwealth, and observing, that a city, which had long infested them, might now be converted into a place of arms for infesting their enemies. The surrender of Psophis occasioned that of Lasion and Stratus, smaller cities usurped by the Elians on that frontier. The former, Philip also gave to the Achæans; the latter, he restored to the Arcadians of Telphussa, from whose territory it had formerly been dismembered.[29]

Philip invades Elis. — Manners of the Elians. Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

The king had now at his mercy the neighbouring province of Elis, to which the Etolians sent but feeble succours, and to which the Lacedæmonians, for a reason that will presently be explained, could not afford the smallest aid. He first proceeded to Olympia, and sacrificed to the gods of the place, as if to deprecate their wrath against his invasion of a territory long held sacred. But the Elians, by taking an active part in all recent commotions, and especially by their

[29] Polybius, l. iv. c. 72. et seq.

alliance with the Etolians the great disturbers of the public tranquillity, had stupidly forfeited the best of all national privileges, that of maintaining undisturbed peace, in the midst of inveterate and unceasing warfare. A remnant of their ancient manners, of their industry and innocency, still appeared in their passion for agriculture, and their fondness for retired rural life, which had formerly been carried to such a height, that many opulent families, settled in the country of Elis, had never once visited the capital of that name in the course of two or three generations.[30] The territory, therefore, was extremely populous, so that Philip made great numbers of prisoners among those who refused to embrace his cause, and had not time to escape to their strongholds. One of the principal of these was Thalamæ, in the north of the province. It surrendered on the first assault, though Amphidamus, pretor of the Elians, commanded two hundred mercenaries in the place, which contained besides five thousand persons, and much valuable property. In the south of the province Philip was equally successful; the whole district of Triphylia, separating Elis from Messenia, and adorned by eight rich cities, submitted in the course of six days.

His rapid conquests in that province.

This conquest brought Philip to the neighbourhood of Phigalia, still commanded by Etolian pirates. The Phigalians had been long weary of these insolent masters; whose injuries

Phigalia surrendered to him;

[30] Polybius, l. iv. c. 73.

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they now had it in their power to punish: they allowed them, however, to depart in safety with their effects; and then sent a deputation to Philip, inviting him to take possession of Phigalia. Shortly before this surrender, Philip had gained Alipheira, another fortress on the same western frontier of Arcadia, fifteen miles north of Phigalia, and then occupied by Elians. The town stood on a steep and craggy ridge above a mile in height; and the highest peak supported a strong citadel, ornamented with a brazen statue of Minerva, of uncommon magnitude and exquisite beauty. Upon what occasion or at whose expence this precious monument was erected at Alipheira, even the inhabitants did not pretend to explain. But all agreed, that it was the work of Hecatodorus and Sostratus in the noblest age[31] of art, and one of the most finished productions of those great masters.[32]

and Alipheira.

Colossal statue of Minerva.

After this brilliant campaign, Philip, having secured his conquests, evacuated Arcadia, and spent the remainder of the winter in Argos. Early in the spring he took the field in Achaia, with a view to expel the Elians from a stronghold called Teichos, on the verge of the Dymean district. The place was of small extent, being scarcely a furlong and a half in circuit, but its strong walls rose to the height of forty-

Philip takes Teichos. — The height of its walls.

[31] Hecatodorus flourished in the 102 Olympiad, and Sostratus in the 114. Plin. N. H. l. xxxiv. c. 8. Both Pliny and Pausanias, l. viii. c. 26. call him Hypatodorus.

[32] Polyb. l. iv. c. 78.

five feet. In this enterprise, his good fortune continued to attend him. He gave the fortress to the Dymeans; and advancing beyond it into Elis with his army, collected much booty from the hitherto unravaged parts of that territory.[33]

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Philip's ministers. Their unworthy intrigues.

In his proceedings hitherto, Philip had been guided chiefly by the elder Aratus, to the great dissatisfaction of his Macedonian ministers. These men, who had not ventured to exhibit their true characters during the vigilant reign of Antigonus Doson, stood in less awe of his youthful successor. Antigonus, with that prudence which marked his conduct, had assigned to them, by will, such distinct departments in the service of his nephew, as seemed best calculated to diminish rivalry and prevent discord. Apelles was appointed to attend his person as a guardian or counsellor; Leontius was set over the infantry; Alexander commanded the body-guard; Megaleas was public secretary; and Taurion, the king's lieutenant in Peloponnesus. Apelles, however, by gaining the ear of the young prince, began to engross the whole power of administration. Leontius and Megaleas had become his creatures: he openly arraigned the incapacity of Alexander; by insidious praises, more dangerous than reproach, he laboured to ruin Taurion; but the elder Aratus was the main object of his jealousy.

Philip prevailed on to oppose Aratus.

Apelles had instilled into Philip's mind, too susceptible of ambition, that instead of the ally, he

[33] Polyb. l. iv. c. 83.

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ought to make himself the master of the Achæans.[34] On several occasions he had taught the Macedonians to treat their auxiliaries with contumely; to dislodge them from their quarters; to deprive them of their due share in the common booty. But, at the intercession of Aratus, Philip had redressed these grievances, and even reprimanded his haughty counsellor, whose authority over him was founded merely on the superiority of years, and on habit, without any corresponding enforcement from abilities or virtues. To regain his credit, Apelles began to tamper with those Achæan leaders who were at variance with Aratus about employments in the state. He took care that Philip's ears should be frequently besieged by their complaints, and his mind corrupted by insinuations, that were the pretorship wrested from the family, or dependants, of Aratus, the king would find it easy to direct, at pleasure, the affairs of Peloponnesus. To make this tempting experiment, Philip met the Achæans in their vernal assembly at Ægium; the younger Aratus laid down his office at its legal term: his father recommended Timoxenus to fill his place; but, through the solicitations of Apelles, which were considered as those of Philip himself, Timoxenus was repulsed, and Eperatus, a citizen of Pharæ, elected pretor.[35]

Apelles's calumnies against Aratus detected.

Apelles determined to follow up this victory; and an accidental occurrence greatly encouraged his design. When Amphidamus, pretor of the

[34] Polybius, l. iv. c. 76. et seq. [35] Id. ibid. c. 82.

Elians, was made prisoner in Thalamæ, he obtained admission to Philip, and convinced him, that without the labour of new battles and sieges, he might on easy terms make the Elians his friends. Philip said, that if they would quit their alliance with the Etolians, he would himself defend them from external danger, while their domestic concerns should be submitted wholly to their own management. Favourable as these conditions were, Amphidamus could not persuade his countrymen to accept them: though many of their cities and a great part of their territory, as well as innumerable prisoners, were in the hands of the enemy, they adhered obstinately and unaccountably to the worst of allies; men whose furious passions knew little distinction between friend and foe; and who frequently outraged intolerably the very nations whom they professed to protect. Apelles assured Philip that Aratus and his son were at the bottom of this inexplicable perverseness. These refined and far-seeing politicians, he said, affected in their deep wisdom to discern much danger to Greece, from the entire submission of the Elians to Philip. To anticipate so perilous a result, they had practised secretly with Amphidamus, at whose instigation his countrymen had rejected terms of peace with which they ought eagerly to have closed. Philip, giving too easy an ear to this calumny, instantly called the persons accused into his presence; Apelles urged his accusation with the utmost confidence; and, as the king remained silent, told them from himself,

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that his master was so much shocked with their double dealing and ingratitude, that he had determined to desire an extraordinary meeting of the Achæans, and to explain in that assembly his reasons for returning immediately to Macedon, and relinquishing all concern in their affairs. The elder Aratus requested Philip to suspend his judgment: that accusation was not proof: that he was fully conscious of his own innocence, and doubted not but he should defeat every machination by which Apelles might endeavour to impeach it. While Apelles was still preparing his evidence, Amphidamus suddenly arrived at Dymé. His zeal in exhorting his countrymen to accept Philip's offers of accommodation, had made them regard him as a traitor, and they had attempted to seize his person, that he might be sent a prisoner into Etolia. He had escaped their grasp, and now came to take refuge with Philip, for whose sake he had incurred so much danger. Upon the first news of his arrival, Aratus ran to the king, and requested that Amphidamus might be immediately sent for; observing, than none could give clearer evidence concerning the delinquency with which he himself was charged, than the person supposed to be his accomplice; and that none would disclose the truth more readily to Philip, than the man whose whole hopes centered in the royal protection. Amphidamus was called and questioned: the calumny was clearly detected[36]; but though the persons ac-

[36] Polybius, l. iv. c. 86.

cused thereby rose in credit with Philip, yet the young prince could not break the chain of dependence in which Apelles had contrived to bind him.

State of the belligerent powers.

Eperatus, raised by that minister to the pretorship of Achaia, soon showed himself unfit for so arduous a trust. Philip was obliged to have recourse to the influence of Aratus, before the Achæans would consent to pay to him his expected subsidies.[37] The three states, with which he was at war, had not hitherto afforded much assistance to each other. The Spartans had been rendered inactive abroad, by a new sedition at home, headed by a bold and popular youth named Chilon, who balanced the authority and threatened the life of Lycurgus; and the Etolians, though they carried their arms wherever plunder tempted them, and had lately ransacked even the venerable temple of Dodona in Epirus, yet showed great backwardness to encounter the Macedonians in the field, and had made but feeble efforts in defence of their Elian allies. But as Lycurgus, the steady partisan of Etolia, had now recovered his ascendency in Sparta, Philip had reason to fear that his enemies might begin to act with united vigour.

Philip attacks Pallé in Cephalenia.

To prevent their co-operation, and at the same time to assail with seasonable celerity their widely separated possessions, he assembled his

[37] Fifty talents the day he took the field; 10,000 measures of corn; and 17 talents monthly. At this rate the Achæans, besides corn, furnished Philip with an annual subsidy of 37,000l. Polyb. l. v. c. i.

CHAP. XV. Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

own and the Achæan fleet in Lechæum, the western harbour of Corinth.[38] The Macedonian soldiers were soon inured to the labour of the oar; and the character of that people leading them to perform zealously every service enjoined them, they soon became as expert at sea as on land, and equally brave on either element. Having stationed some vessels to guard the friendly shore of the Messenians, who had become active in the war since the expulsion of the Etolian pirates from Phigalia, and having left a considerable force to protect the inland frontiers of his allies, Philip sailed for Cephalenia, to attack Palus or Pallé, the principal naval magazine of the enemy. The place was almost surrounded by precipices, or by the sea, and could be approached only by a narrow terrace, looking towards Zacynthus. But the Macedonians, were full of alacrity; the neighbouring fields supplied them with a profusion of ripe corn; and Philip had been joined by many Epirots, Messenians, and Acarnanians, whose shores had been long infested from this Cephalenian harbour. His machines were advanced towards the only side on which the city was assailable; the defenders of Palus were driven from their outworks: and, a mine two hundred feet long being drawn under the walls, the place was summoned to capitulate. But as the Palleans rejected this alternative, Philip set fire to the wooden piles on which the fortifications were built: a dreadful

[38] Strabo, l. viii. p. 262.

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ruin ensued, and the Macedonian hypaspists, the bravest body in the army, were commanded to enter by the breach.[39]

His enterprise disconcerted by treachery.

But on this occasion, the intrigues of Leontius, which will be accounted for presently, defeated the near prospect of taking the place. He had practised with the officers serving under him to abet his villany, and his men were led to the attack with such dexterous disorder, that they were thrice disgracefully repulsed. The great number of the wounded deterred Philip from renewing the assault. He marked, however, the complicated treachery by which his enterprise had been frustrated; but, as he had learned that Dorimachus, the Etolian pretor, had marched with more than half his army into Thessaly, he hastened to the capital of Etolia itself, left nearly defenceless. On the second night he arrived with his fleet at Leucas, sailed through the shallow artificial channel[40] between that island and Acarnania by supporting his gallies on buoyant skiffs usually employed for that purpose, and then steering his course up the Ambracian gulph, arrived before day-break at the safe harbour of Limnæa. Here, he was speedily joined by the Acarnanians in a mass[41], headed by their pretor Aristophantus, for the whole nation, even those long past the military age, were inflamed with keen desire to avenge their wrongs on the Etolians. The Epirots also flocked to his stand-

He invades Etolia. Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

[39] Polyb. l. v. c. 4.

[40] Strabo, l. x. p. 451

[41] Πανδημει. Polyb. l. v. c. 6.

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ard, but the great extent of their country rendered it more difficult for them to assemble. Philip marched from Limnæa in the evening; and, at the distance of six miles, allowing his troops to take some refreshment, continued his progress all night to the banks of the Achelous, between Stratus and Canopé. In the space of twelve hours he had marched thirty-five miles, and stood on the Etolian frontier, only twenty miles distant from the capital Thermum, the seat of religion and government, and the vast magazine into which this nation of robbers had collected the accumulating plunder of many ages.

Tremendous avenue to Thermum, the capital of that country.

The road to Thermum led through Metapa and Pamphia, towns on the lake Trichonis, embosomed in woody mountains, which can only be crossed by narrow and intricate defiles. Philip passed the Achelous, and proceeding twelve miles in an eastern direction, entered the rough and steep paths near Metapa, whose inhabitants took flight at his approach. He was careful, however, to leave guards at the narrow entrances, thereby to secure his retreat. He then came to Pamphia, which is half-way between Metapa and Thermum, and about three miles distant from the latter, the whole way being almost a continued ascent, difficult throughout, and in many places made dreadful by overhanging rocks and yawning caverns, fit avenues to the terrible den of the savage and merciless Etolians. But the hitherto inviolated security of Thermum had rendered that people altogether unprepared for receiving an enemy.

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Dreadful desolation of Thermum.

Both their territory and their city suffered similar injuries to those which they had been accustomed to inflict. The booty was immense; what could not easily be transported, was burned: among other articles of value, fifteen thousand suits of armour were committed to the flames. In those signal acts of vengeance, Philip did nothing inconsistent with the rights of conquest, as understood and acknowledged in his age and country. But when he called to mind the sacrilege recently committed by the Etolians at Dodona, the most ancient oracle in Greece; and still more, when he reflected on their outrages at Dium, the most venerated sanctuary of Macedon, his rage disdained customary limits. The porticoes to the temple were set on fire: its votive offerings, many of them works of exquisite art, were reduced to a heap of rubbish; the statues, nearly two thousand in number, were overturned, and all of them defaced, except those bearing the form and superscription of some favourite divinity: the roof of the temple was burnt, and even the greater part of its walls demolished to the foundation. On a massy fragment of the ruin, the following verse was engraved: "Behold how far the bolts of Dium fly!" The line is parodied from one in Euripides[42], and was the more energetic in Greek, because, by its double[43] meaning in that lan-

Inscription on its ruins.

Ορας τον ἀϐρον ὀ ϐελος διεπτατο.
Euripid. Supplic. v. 860.

[43] Το Διον ϐελος means either the divine darts, or the darts of Dium.

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guage, heaven itself was made a party in the king's ungoverned fury; and in the destruction of the temple of Thermum, the gods of Macedon were represented as taking vengeance on those of Etolia. The epigram, for it deserves not any better name, was the work of Samius, a youth who had been educated with the king, and whose ingenious witticisms were afterwards much celebrated. He was the son of Chrysogonus, who will appear presently in the character of a virtuous counsellor, as well as in that of an able general. But though Philip's courtiers and contemporaries approved his sacrilegious proceedings, both their impolicy and their impiety have been stigmatised by the impartial voice of history. His behaviour appeared equally weak and wicked, when contrasted with that of his three most illustrious predecessors; with the generosity of Antigonus Doson at Sparta; with the indulgence of Philip, the father of Alexander, to the Athenians; above all, with the religious forbearance of Alexander himself, who protected from the slightest insult every thing sacred, even among the Persians, though those Barbarians had demolished or prophaned the most venerable temples of Greece.[44]

Philip's impolicy and impiety.

His return to the sea-coast, and carousal with his generals.

The news of the invasion hastened Dorimachus from Thessaly. He had been prevented from descending into the rich Thessalian plain by Chrysogonus, just mentioned, then com-

[44] Polyb. l. v. c. 10.

manding in that country; and he came home only to behold with rage the desolation of his country. Philip returned to his ships by his former route; and, on his way to the sea-coast, set fire to Pamphia, and rased Metapa to the ground, the guards which he had posted at the gorges of the mountains repelling the hovering parties of the enemy, who might otherwise have obstructed the retreat of an army encumbered with booty. The Etolians had assembled in force at Stratus, on the right bank of the Achelous. Without having attempted to disturb Philip's passage of the river, they endeavoured to harass his rear, but they were repelled with considerable loss, and saved from total destruction only by the strength of their walls. Upon the safe arrival of the army at Limnæa, solemn sacrifices of thanks were offered to the gods, and the king held a carousal with his officers, from which, according to the Greek fashion, it was shameful for any man to retire sober.

Drunken fray, in which Aratus is insulted.

The truth that is in wine unmasked, on this occasion, Leontius and Megaleas, who, after their patron Apelles declined in court favour, had been co-operating with that minister in a scheme of the blackest perfidy. When Apelles was foiled in his attempt to ruin Aratus, and the latter thereby gained even new credit with Philip, the pangs of disappointed ambition exasperated a fierce mind into implacable resentment, both against his royal master and his triumphant rival. But the keener his animosity, the greater care he employed to conceal it.

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Affecting warm zeal for the service, while Philip yet prepared for his Etolian expedition, Apelles sailed to Chalcis, under pretence of expediting the equipments in that warlike magazine, and of being more conveniently situate there for corresponding with Thessaly and Macedon, and directing the financial administration of those countries. His real design in the voyage was to intercept the king's resources, while the other conspirators laboured with equal assiduity to tarnish his glory in the field.[45] We have seen how successfully Leontius obstructed the taking of Pallé, in Cephalenia; the king, however, still kept on terms with him, fearful of his credit with the targeteers whom he commanded. But, at the breaking up of the drunken entertainment, Leontius and Megaleas ventured openly to assault Aratus: he was defended by his friends; a fray thus ensued between the adherents of either party; the king sent troops to end the vile contest, and secure the authors of it; Leontius slid unnoticed through the crowd, but Megaleas and Crinon, more daring at that moment, were conducted to Philip, and aggravated their guilt by declaring that they would not rest satisfied without inflicting condign punishment on their adversaries. The king reprimanded their insolence, imposed on each of them a fine of twenty talents, and ordered them to be taken into custody until the mulct were liquidated. Next day Leontius, attended by

Philip's ministers betray their villanous design.

[45] Polyb. l. v. c. 14. et seq

some favourite targeteers, repaired to the king's tent, to make inquiry concerning the arrest of his friends, and to know by whose authority they were confined. Philip, though in early youth, answered, " by mine," with an air of such intrepid dignity, that the conspirator was seized with the terror which he had hoped to inspire.

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Their trial proves ineffectual.

As the fleet had now prepared for sailing back to Leucadia, the farther examination of the culprits was delayed until they arrived in that island. There, the king made an equitable partition among his forces of the plunder gained in Etolia; and a council of Macedonians, of the first rank in the court and army, met to try Megaleas and Crinon. Aratus was their accuser: among the proofs which he produced against them, many tended also to blacken Leontius and Apelles. But the court was contented with confirming the king's sentence against the persons accused. Leontius was even admitted as surety for Megaleas, who was therefore discharged; Crinon remained in confinement.

Philip's return to Corinth, and invasion of Laconia. Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

Philip's success in Etolia encouraged his hopes, and invigorated his activity. He staid but two days at Leucas, and early in the third morning sailed for Corinth, not omitting, in the course of his voyage, to ravage the Etolian coast, particularly the fertile district of Œanthé. From the harbour of Lechæum, he sent couriers to his allies, desiring them to meet him in Arcadia, that

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their united forces might invade Laconia.[46] He then left Lechæum, and on the seventh day gained the hills that overlook Sparta, and encamped at Amyclæ, three miles south of that capital. Leaving Amyclæ, famous for its temple and colossal statue of Apollo[47], and distinguished for its rich variety of trees and fruits, he carried his incursions southward to the promontory of Tenarus, and then retracing his route, passed the city and safe harbour of Gythium[48]; from thence skirting the inmost recesses of the Laconic gulph, he again proceeded southward to Bæa, near the promontory of Malea, the western horn, as it were, of Laconia and Peloponnesus. From cape Malea he returned northward, and wasted the country on every side, particularly the beautiful plain of Helos, the largest and finest district in the whole territory. A predatory march of four days brought him back to his former encampment at Amyclæ.

His wonderful celerity.

Meanwhile the Spartan king Lycurgus could hardly give credit to Philip's celerity, having just heard of his expedition to Thermum, and of the ruin with which he had overwhelmed, only fifteen days before, a place a hundred and fifty miles distant from Sparta, and two hundred from cape Malea. While the invasion raged in the south of his country, Lycurgus had been occupied on the opposite frontier, and was returning from Glympes, where he had defeated

[46] Polybius, l. v. c. 17. et seq.

[47] See History of Ancient Greece, Part I. c. xiv.

[48] The city Gythium, or Gytheum, is distant above two miles from the harbour.

a body of the allies hastening to join Philip, according to the instructions which they had received from that prince. As much elated by this victory as he was enraged at Philip's devastations, Lycurgus determined that his enemies should not repass Sparta without fighting a battle.

Bold operations in the neighbourhood of Sparta.

For understanding clearly his dispositions toward this end, it is necessary to advert to the situation of the Lacedæmonian capital, which, though commonly described as a round city[49] on a plain, was defended by mountains at no great distance from it. The Eurotas flows on the east of Sparta, a river too deep to be forded during the greatest part of the year, and whose eastern margin is roughened by the ridge called Menelaium, from its towering temple of Menelaus, as well as from the tombs of that hero and his too celebrated queen. The hills of Menelaium command the interval between themselves and Sparta; which interval, including the part occupied by the stream, does not exceed three hundred yards in breadth.[50] To interrupt Philip's return through this narrow space in his way from Amyclæ, Lycurgus in person occupied mount Menelaium, with two thousand men, and gave orders to the far greater number which remained in the city, as soon as they beheld his signal, to issue from several gates at once, with their front towards the Eurotas, and in the place where

[49] The circuit of Sparta was 48 stadia: that of Megalopolis, 50; yet the former was the larger city, its form being more nearly that of a circle. Polybius, l. ix. c. 21.

[50] Polybius, l. v. c. 18. et seq.

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that river flowed nearest to the city. His orders were obeyed with precision. Yet Philip, after twice defeating the enemy, forced his way through the defile, and encamped securely at its northern extremity, about a quarter of a mile distant from Sparta. The post which he thus occupied commanded the only access to that city from all the northern parts of Peloponnesus, and was admirably adapted for making safe incursions into the adjacent districts. At breaking up his camp, Philip formed his men in proud array, thus defying his enemies before he began his retreat. As the Spartans stirred not from their walls, he converted his order of battle into a column of march. In his return northward he offered sacrifices of thanks to the mountains Eva and Olympus, scenes already commemorated in the history of the Cleomenic war. He made a short halt at Tegea, to dispose of the heaviest part of his booty; and from thence passed through Argos to Corinth.

Philip quells a sedition raised by his ministers.

The kings of Macedon were never exposed to greater danger than after some brisk tide of prosperity. This peculiarity arose from the composition and character of their armies. In the battles near Sparta, the targeteers, headed by Leontius and his friends, had carried away the palm of victory. Their natural insolence, heightened by success, broke out into open mutiny, which was quelled by the presence of mind and spirit of the young king.

They are defeated in their

Leontius and Megaleas, seeing that their schemes against Philip had redounded to their

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machinations, and capitally punished.

own disgrace, sent for their coadjutor Apelles from Chalcis, that his great dexterity might be exerted towards re-establishing their influence. To grace his return, they sent to meet him the most distinguished divisions of men whom they commanded. His entrance to Corinth had thus the air of a triumph. But when he hastened to see the king, an attendant told him that Philip was busy: Apelles scorned a refusal; the guards, however, were firm in denying him admission. He then perceived that his perfidies had come to light; and the retinue that attended him also perceived the downfal of his authority. They immediately left him to the company of his own servants; for the estimation of courtiers, Polybius observes, is decided by trifles, and in a moment: they are either talents or farthings, just as the smile or frown of royalty stamps the impression on them.[51] Megaleas, when apprised of the disgrace of a minister through whose means he had expected to recover his own credit, no longer endeavoured to maintain his ground. He fled from Corinth, unperceived, during a visit made by Philip across the gulph to Phocis, the motives for which, at this juncture, are not explained. Megaleas first took refuge in Athens, but was expelled from that city as an enemy to the king: he afterwards found protection in Thebes. In the voyage to Phocis, Philip carried with him Apelles, and even admitted him to his table, but without

[51] Polybius, v. 26.

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rendered to a heavier punishment. He escaped a public execution by laying violent hands on himself.[52]

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The only survivor amongst them, convicted and executed.

The Etolians, when they heard of these events, never doubted that the destruction of so many ministers and generals would create much confusion in Philip's government, and much dissatisfaction in his army. Accordingly they broke off the negociation; a circumstance by no means displeasing to the king. As the winter was now far advanced, he sent home the Macedonians through Thessaly, and himself sailed to Demetrias, in that province. In this place he found Ptolemy, an officer of the targeteers, and the only person still alive who had been involved in the conspiracy. Ptolemy was publicly tried by the Macedonians, and after clear conviction, sentenced to death.[53]

State of the belligerent powers. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

Though all hopes of immediate peace had vanished, various circumstances kept the armies on both sides inactive during the first weeks of spring. New commotions in Sparta had driven Lycurgus from his country; and it was not until his return, that the Lacedæmonians resumed courage to co-operate with their Elian and Etolian allies. The northern frontiers of Macedon were invaded by hovering hordes of Dardanians. Before marching into Greece, Philip was obliged to fortify his dominions on that side, and particularly the valley, watered by the Axius, in

[52] Polybius, l. v. c. 28.

[53] Id. l. v. c. 29.

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Pæonia [54], the easiest route from Dardania into Macedon. A considerable body of Macedonians, under Taurion in Peloponnesus, was obliged to keep on the defensive, because, through the bad administration of the pretor Eperatus, the Achæan army had dwindled to a mere shadow. But when the month of May came round, the elder Aratus was, for the sixteenth time, named to the pretorship. Under his direction, a decree passed for raising eight thousand infantry and five hundred horse; to which body of mercenaries, the Achæans were to add three thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, all to be chosen from the wealthiest portion of their citizens, and to serve at their own expence. They were also to guard with stout galleys the coast of Argolis; and a squadron in the Corinthian gulph was to be kept in readiness for infesting the Etolians. Shortly after this resolution, operations commenced by reciprocal incursions: these open inroads were accompanied by surprises in the night and ambushes by day; but no pitched battle was fought, nor did any place of importance change masters. The Achæan fleet made several bold descents on the coast of Etolia, near Naupactus, and carried off much booty and many prisoners, among whom Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus, because he had been connected in hospitality with the Achæans,

[54] The Dardanians had recently made an incursion that way, and taken the city Bylazor, the largest in Pœnoia. Philip expelled the enemy from the place, and secured the passes leading to it. Polyb. l. 5. c. 97.

was enlarged without ransom.[55] His companions were sold for slaves. The generous treatment of Cleonicus, though not unusual on similar occasions, engaged him to prolong his stay in Achaia until Philip's arrival there, by whom we shall see him employed a few months afterwards in the negociations for peace.

Aratus dexterously adjusts the differences among the Megalopolitans.

Amidst the tumult of military operations, Aratus was for a short time employed in a transaction peculiarly suitable to his character. The citizens of Megalopolis, since the disasters with which they had been inflicted in the Cleomenic war, had been a prey to those discontents which indigence is apt to create, even among a generous and high-minded people. Warm debates prevailed about the manner of rebuilding their city. One party contended that the ancient circuit of their walls, about five miles in extent, ought to be much contracted. Besides this alteration, which they represented as essential to security, they insisted that the richer citizens should severally relinquish a third part of their lands, in order to obtain an accession of new inhabitants. The other party absolutely refused to listen to either of these proposals. Their dissent was sanctioned by Prytanis, the peripatetic[56], a man of great learning and authority, whom Antigonus Doson had formerly sent to Megalopolis to reform the laws of that state.

[55] Polybius, v. 95.

[56] Και τοιυτης της αιρεσεως (viz. Aristotelism). How much Aristotle was an enemy to agrarian laws, and similar interferences with private property, appears from the 2d book of his Politicks throughout.

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But in the heat of faction, the reasonings of the philosopher were disregarded, or became the source of fresh discord. The dexterity of Aratus, whose whole life had united business with study, proved more successful. Through his skilful interposition, the parties in Megalopolis were perfectly reconciled to each other; and the conditions of their agreement were recorded on a pillar erected near Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council. In a grove adjacent to that city, a temple had been dedicated to Jupiter, "the lover of concord and protector of confederacies." Such an edifice seemed a fit receptacle for a marble record, commemorating the accommodation of all differences in Megalopolis, and its determined adherence to the Achæan league.[57]

Philip takes Thebes, in Phthiotis. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

Meanwhile Philip moved his army from Macedon, and began his campaign by an enterprise more immediately useful to himself. This was to expel the Etolians from their strong-holds extending along the southern frontier of Thessaly, from the eastern extremity of Etolia to the Ægean sea. At Melitæa, one of the strongest of these fortresses, he failed in his assault through the shortness of his ladders. After an obstinate siege, however, he gained Thebes, in Phthiotis, a place still more important, since, commanding the entrance of the Pelasgic gulph, it stood conveniently for infesting all the neighbouring districts of Thessaly.[58] Philip then

[57] Polybius, c. 93. [58] Id. c. 99.

proceeded to Peloponnesus, to grace with his presence the Nemean games, which were ready to be celebrated at Argos. While he sat at this solemnity, a messenger arrived from Macedon, bringing news of the famous battle of Thrasymenus, in Tuscany, where Hannibal had defeated the Romans, and driven them from the open country within their walls. New ambassadors arrived also from Rhodes and Chios, now accompanied by those of Egypt[59] and Byzantium, all earnestly desirous of composing the differences that had too long reigned in Greece. Philip declared, as before, his readiness to listen to them, provided they could bring the Etolians to reasonable terms. The ambassadors repaired with this agreeable news to Etolia; but, before their return, the king had been strongly urged by Demetrius of Pharus, a man of much boldness and energy, to put an end to the wars in Greece, and direct his views towards Italy. He therefore sent Cleonicus of Naupactus to soften, as much as possible, the fierce minds of his countrymen, but at the same time proceeded himself with his army to the Elian frontier, and stormed the city Lasion, that he might not seem too eager for peace. Cleonicus repassed several times between him and the Etolians, and finally returned with assurances, that the magistrates of that people wished only for a personal conference with the king, in which all differences might be

News of Hannibal's victories brought to him at Argos.

Negociations for peace, through the intervention of maritime and commercial powers.

[59] From Ptolemy Philopator, then in the fifth year of his profligate reign.

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adjusted. Philip, in order to second this disposition, proceeded to Panormus, a harbour in Achaia directly opposite to Naupactus in Etolia; writing at the same time to his allies to send thither their deputies, empowered to treat of a general pacification. While he expected their arrival, Philip, with his usual activity, visited Zacynthus, and settled to his own satisfaction the affairs of that island. The deputies had now joined him: the Etolians still pressed the negociation: but Philip, in order completely to satisfy his doubts concerning that turbulent people, sent to them the elder Aratus and Taurion to penetrate their real intentions.[60]

End of the social war. Olymp. cxl. 4. B.C. 217.

In one short conference, these able men fully satisfied themselves that the Etolians were sincere. They returned therefore without delay, bringing with them ambassadors to request that Philip would pass into Etolia, for the purpose of accommodating all differences, more easily, in a personal interview with their magistrates. Philip embarked his troops, sailed across the Corinthian gulph, and encamped at the distance of two miles from Naupactus. The Etolians assembled without arms at a small distance from his camp. The negociation began by a proposal from Philip, in the name of his allies, that peace should be established on the basis of actual possession. The Etolians consented to this principle, though highly unfavourable to them, because they had lost in the war many

[60] Polybius, c. 101. et seq.

important strong-holds. But several conferences were requisite for settling matters in detail, in one of which Agelaus of Naupactus spoke to the following purpose: "It were most earnestly to be wished, that the Greeks had always kept peace amongst themselves, and directed their hostilities against surrounding Barbarians. But that which would have been good policy at all times, is, in the present juncture, a matter of necessity. Consider the great and ambitious powers that have arisen in the west, and the vast exertions which they have been able to make by sea and land. They are actually engaged in a second and more desperate conflict; and whichever party prevails, think not that the victor will be contented with the spoils of the vanquished. He will look around him for new enemies, that may furnish him with materials for richer and more glorious triumphs. Instead of reducing to weakness and despondency any of the states of Greece, a king of Macedon ought to cherish them all, as members of his own body. The strength, resulting from such concord, will probably prevent aggression; if not, our cordial co-operation will enable us to repel it. Placed at the head of united Greece and a watchful observer of foreign powers, Philip may seize opportunities for successful enterprise, that will place him in a rank with the most illustrious of his predecessors, conquerors and civilisers of the world. Let us then hasten to conclude a lasting peace in the sincere spirit of amity; for, if we continue to grow weaker

Prophetic speech of Agelaus of Naupactus. Olymp. cxl. 4. B.C. 217.

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by unceasing divisions, and the storm which threatens in the west should assail us unprepared, I much fear there will be an end at once to our wars and our treaties, and all independent will in the management of our own affairs."[61]

State of Greece at the end of the social war.—Peloponnesians.

The sentiments of Agelaus met with much approbation from all present, especially from the king; and a general peace was concluded on the terms which Philip had proposed. In consequence of this transaction, the states of Peloponnesus obtained a breathing time, after the long wars in which their love of liberty had involved them. No people were better calculated than the Peloponnesians for innocent rural labours, and for enjoying with moderation all those gifts which industry and good polity bear in their train. Yet, their unquenchable zeal for freedom, kept them in perpetual agitation and warfare after the principal states beyond the isthmus had submitted to a tranquil servitude.

Republics beyond the isthmus.—Their degeneracy and profligacy.

Thessaly had long been a province of Macedon; the Athenians, unambitious of assuming their ancient rank, were contented with averting hostility by flattery; indecent, indiscriminate, and under their present magistrates, Euricleidas and Micion, carried to such an extravagant excess, as made it alike disgraceful to its objects and its authors. The Bœotians had sunk still lower than any of their neighbours. Not satisfied with abandoning all concern for the public affairs of Greece, they could scarcely be brought

[61] Polybius, c. 104.

to pay the smallest attention to those of their own community. Dead to every interest of the present age and posterity, they thought of nothing but how to pass the fleeting hour in undisturbed jollity. Those who were without children left their whole property to the confraternities and clubs in which they had been accustomed to revel; and even many parents, to the impoverishment of their own offspring, bequeathed the greatest part of their fortunes to answer such low ends: so prevalent was this madness among them, that many Bœotians had a right to partake of more club-dinners monthly, than there were days in the month.[62]

Aratus and Agelaus respectively at the head of Achaia and Etolia.

Upon the conclusion of the war, Timoxenus, for the second time, was appointed pretor of the Achæans. He was so entirely devoted to Aratus, that the whole weight of his office centered in his patron. At the autumnal equinox, four months afterwards, Agelaus was raised to the same dignity among the Etolians; an appointment highly seasonable, as that turbulent people had already grown weary of peace, which to them seemed idleness.[63] But Agelaus forced them, much against their inclination, to observe the conditions of the treaty which he had so happily procured for them.

[62] Polybius describes this sottish state of the Bœotians under Olymp. cxlvi. 4.; but he observes, that it began twenty-five years sooner.

[63] Id. c. 107.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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Apollonia in Illyricum contracts an Alliance with Rome. — The Romans usurp on the Carthaginians. — Indignation of Hamilcar Barcas. — His Plans of Vengeance. — Depredations of Illyrian Pirates. — Romans reduce Queen Teuta. — Their first Embassy to the States of Greece. — Expel Demetrius of Pharus from Illyricum. — His Flight to Philip of Macedon. — Hannibal sacks the Greek City Saguntum. — Philip's Conquests in Illyricum. — Second Punic War. — Hieron of Syracuse. — His wise Policy at Home and Abroad. — His Successor Hieronymus. — Siege of Syracuse. — Sicilians, their Glory in Arts and Letters. — Oppression and Degradation under the Romans. — Battle of Zama. — Peace granted to Carthage.

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Connection of this history. Olymp. cxli. 1. B. C. 216.

THE termination of the social war is the first historical event, in which the affairs of the East received their impulse and direction from those of the West. The great victories, gained by Hannibal in Italy, inspired Philip with the resolution of accommodating all differences between Greece and Macedon, in hopes of employing their united strength [1] against the powerful western republic, which, by her conquests in Illyria, only two years before this period, had carried her victorious arms to the very door of his kingdom. The causes producing these con-

[1] Polybius, l. v. c. 105—108.

quests remounted to an early origin, and afford a new proof that the history of the world is only to be connected and embodied by a diligent attention to that of the Greeks, a seafaring and commercial people, alike enterprising and politic, embroiled in war, or united by profitable intercourse with all the more considerable nations of antiquity.

Apollonia in Illyricum—Its condition previous to Olymp. cxxviii. 3. B. C. 266.

The country, anciently called Illyria or Illyricum, formed, as it were, the counterpart to Italy on the opposite side of the Hadriatic; these long strips[2] of territory nearly balancing each other, and either of them being nearly commensurate with the great intervening gulph. The inlet to this gulph is formed by a straight of forty miles between the heel of Italy, and the Acroceraunian mountains which mark the northern frontier of Epirus. Immediately beyond this boundary, part of the Illyrian shore had been early occupied and planted by a chain of Greek colonies; Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Epidaurus, even to the little island of Pharus adjacent to the maritime district, now well known under the name of Dalmatia. Apollonia[3], the first mentioned of these Greek cities, stood six miles from the sea: its harbour was directly opposite to that of Brundusium in Italy; and, as a station for ships, deserved the praise of superior conveniency on a shore, which, having generally deep

[2] The Greeks considered Illyricum as extending thirty journies in length and five in breadth. The Romans found it by admeasurement 600 miles long and 120 broad. Appian, Illyric. sub init.

[3] Vid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 316. et seq.

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water, is as abundant in good harbours as the corresponding coast of Italy is remarkably deficient in them. Thus favourably situate with regard to the sea, the inland territory, however, was often infested by inroads, and always exposed to danger. About the time of Pyrrhus's repulse from Italy, the Apollonians trembled for their independence. They regarded the native Illyrians as irreclaimable Barbarians; they dreaded Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon as a prince equally insidious and rapacious; and the friendship of the Romans, who had recently defeated the Epirots, also dangerous neighbours to Apollonia, seemed to promise the best security against the eventual projects of any of the warlike powers, by which their flourishing little commonwealth was environed.

Admitted into an alliance with Rome. Olymp. cxxviii. 3. B. C. 266.

Accordingly, the Romans had no sooner occupied Brundusium, than ambassadors sailed thither from Apollonia, to congratulate with them on the success of their arms against Pyrrhus, and to solicit the honour of their alliance. The strangers were escorted to Rome, received hospitably, and favourably answered. But a quarrel falling out between them and some young Patricians, the sacred character of ambassadors did not protect them from blows. The Romans, instead of abetting this brutality in their countrymen, determined severely to punish it. The offenders, though two of their number at that time held the honourable office of Edile, were solemnly surrendered into the hands of the injured Apollonians, that they might be carried

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home with them under a proper guard, and subjected to whatever punishment the magistrates of the Greek state should award. These magistrates examined the affair, dispassionately and indulgently, and their proceedings equally politic and liberal, converted into warm friends a number of young patricians, afterwards of much weight in their country.[4] Shortly after this transaction, Rome was totally occupied in the first Punic war for twenty-four years; and, after its conclusion, half that space of time elapsed, before, as protectress of Apollonia, she sent her legions across the Hadriatic, and interposed, as we shall see presently, in the affairs of the adjacent countries, with equal efficiency and dignity.

The Romans seize Sardinia. Olymp. cxxxv. 3. B.C. 238.

During the interval of twenty-three years between her two memorable conflicts with Carthage, her jealous attention was chiefly directed towards that state, which, though deprived of its boasted supremacy at sea, divested of its rich possessions in Sicily, and even subjected to a disgraceful tribute, still enjoyed the means of retrieving its fortune. The Carthaginians possessed an extensive territory; they were an industrious and frugal people; they commanded the rich inland traffic of Africa; and they were surrounded by numerous Nomadic nations, whom they had contrived to render, both in war and in commerce, entirely subservient to their interests. But, after the return of

[4] Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xv. Dion. Cass. Zonaras, & Valer. Maxim. l. vi. c. 6.

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their armies from Sicily, they were engaged for three years in a disgraceful and dangerous conflict[5] with the numerous foreign mercenaries, always maintained by their republic. Their general Hanno was unfortunate. The command was entrusted to his rival Hamilcar Barcas, who finished an odious and disgusting contest, remarkable only for the cruelty and perfidy with which it was, on both sides, maintained. During the height of this domestic commotion, the mercenaries serving in Sardinia imitated those of the capital. They destroyed the Carthaginian traders, and were themselves destroyed or expelled by the indignant natives of the island. Among the expelled mercenaries, many were Campanians, whose return into Italy apprised the Romans of an opportunity highly seasonable for gaining possession of Sardinia. The conquest was easily effected; and when the Carthaginians armed with a view to re-conquer Sardinia, the threat of new hostilities on the part of Rome, made them not only cede all claim to the island, but consent to increase their stipulated contributions by the additional sum of 1,200 talents.[6]

Carthage submits to this usurpation, and why.

Their tameness in submitting to such demands might be occasioned by the deep wounds which they had recently received in two successive wars. But long before this time, their government had begun to experience the factious discontents incident to tyrannical and jealous aris-

[5] Polybius, l. i. c. 65. et seq.

[6] Conf. Polybius, l. i. c. 88. & l. iii. c. 10.

tocracies.[7] Wealth was the main source of all public distinction; and the wealthy, who had engrossed every preferment and honour, were fearful of war, and jealous of too aspiring or too popular generals; solicitous chiefly for their pecuniary interests, insensible to public renown and national glory, and careless, as we shall see, of any other victories and conquests, but those accompanied with the prospect of extending commerce and augmenting revenue.

Indignation of Hamilcar Barcas.

Such was the character of the greater number; but such was not that of Hamilcar Barcas. We have seen this high-minded Carthaginian quit Sicily, frowning on the Romans for their pride, and on his own countrymen for their meanness. His successful termination of the war against the mercenaries rendered it impossible for his enemies to discharge and dismiss his abilities with the occasion that had required them. He was sent to command in Spain, where the Carthaginians had long succeeded to the stubborn undertakings and bold enterprises of their Tyrian ancestors. The magistrates of Carthage flattered themselves with the hope of compensating late losses, by making the complete conquest of a country rich in the precious metals beyond every other in antiquity; and Hamilcar hoped in this command, which he should seem to have determined never to lay down, to form an army, qualified, as his country had now lost its predo-

[7] Conf. Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9. & Polybius, l. vi. c. 55. & Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 40.

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His command in Spain, and that of his son-in-law Asdrubal. Olymp. cxxxv. 4. cxl. 1. B. C. 237—220.

minancy at sea, to attack the Romans by land, and successfully to invade Italy. With this view, he had employed nine years in extending the Carthaginian power and in creating a well-disciplined force, when he fell in an obscure battle with the natives.[8] His son-in-law Asdrubal assumed his place in the army, and was confirmed in it by the government of Carthage. During eight years, he prosecuted the designs of his predecessor, when he also was slain, still more ingloriously, by the hand of a slave to avenge the blood of his master.[9] Besides great accessions of territory, acquired by policy[10] as well as arms, Asdrubal's administration was signalised by building New Carthage[11], a city in the neighbourhood of rich mines of gold and silver and admirably situate for commerce. His perpetual encroachments were viewed with much uneasiness by two Greek cities on the eastern coast, Emporiæ a colony of Massilia, and Saguntum a colony of Zacynthus.[12] Like Apollonia on a similar occasion, Saguntum had recourse to Rome, and was soon afterwards numbered among the confederates of that commonwealth; which had bound Asdrubal[13] by treaty, that he should not pass the river Iberus with an army, nor disturb the security of her allies. We shall see how

[8] Polybius, l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 6. l. xxi. c. 1, 2.
[9] Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 21. & l. xxi. c. 2. & Polyb. l. ii. c. 36.
[10] Polybius, ibid.
[11] Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 31.
[12] Strabo, l. iii. p. 110. Conf. Appian de Reb. Punic. l. vii. c. 2.
[13] Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 13. l. iii. c. 27.

little these articles were respected by his successor Hannibal.

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Depredations of Illyrian pirates. Olymp. cxxxvii. 2—4. B. C. 231—229.

Meanwhile the Romans employed themselves in a highly honourable undertaking on the eastern side of the Hadriatic. The maritime districts [14] in Illyricum, united under a chief named Agron, began to create much terror by their boldness in piracy. [15] The navies of Athens and Corinth were no more; Rhodes and Byzantium were remote; Egypt was at a still greater distance, and the war-galleys, equipped by Ptolemy Philadelphus, had been allowed to moulder away through the carelessness of his successor. Thus unawed by any Greek power, the Illyrian freebooters extended their depredations from the inmost recess of the Hadriatic to the southern extremity of Peloponnesus. Agron, who is stiled king of the Illyrians, having finished by intemperance a life sustained by rapine, was succeeded by his queen Teuta, who exercised her authority by Scerdilaidas, kinsman to her late husband, and by Demetrius, of Pharus, a small island on her coast inhabited by a Greek colony. [16] Teuta was eager to prosecute the lucrative career that had opened to her country. Private corsairs were more numerous than ever; and a public armament, more considerable than any equipped by Agron, gained possession of Phænicé the most convenient seaport in Epirus.

[14] Those of the Taulantii, Ardyæi, Liburni, &c. Thucydid Strabo, Polybius, and Appian Illyric.

[15] Polybius, l. ii. c. 2. et seq.

[16] From the isle of Paros. Diodor. l. xv. s. 13.

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Complaints were brought to the Romans from both sides of the Hadriatic; from their subjects in Magna Græcia, from Epidamnus, Epidaurus, above all, from Apollonia, their oldest ally in Illyricum.

Teuta, queen of the Illyrians, causes the assassination of a Roman ambassador. Olymp. cxxxvii. 4. B. C. 229.

Accordingly, an embassy was sent by the senate to remonstrate with queen Teuta against the obnoxious proceedings of her people. The ambassadors, two Coruncanii, found the queen engaged in the siege of Issa, and with difficulty obtained an audience, in the progress of which, Teuta displayed much impatience and haughtiness. When their discourse was ended, she replied coldly, "that the Romans would not, she trusted, have reason to complain of any public injury; but that it was not customary with the kings of Illyricum to restrain their subjects from profiting individually by the sea." The younger of the brothers, Lucius Coruncanius, already piqued at her disdainful behaviour, replied sharply, "but it is customary with the Romans to exact public reparation for private wrongs and in all cases to right the injured. With the help of the gods! we shall therefore reform the kingly maxims of Illyricum." The pride of Teuta was unable to brook such language: she dismissed the ambassadors from her presence; and knowing no bounds in her resentment, pursued them in their way home, and destroyed by assassins the speaker of the words by which she deemed herself insulted. [17]

[17] Polybius, l. ii. c. 2—8.

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Successful war against her by the consuls Fulvius and Posthumius. Olymp. cxxxvii. 4. B. C. 229.

The Romans learned with indignation this daring enormity. They levied troops, and hastened to equip a fleet. Before they arrived in Illyricum, Teuta had made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the city of Epidamnus. Her arms were more fortunate at Corcyra. Demetrius of Pharus was left with a garrison to maintain this important conquest, while the greater part of the troops returned to Epidamnus, in order to resume their operations against that valuable harbour. Another body of Illyrians still carried on the siege of Issa. Such was the situation in which the consul Fulvius found affairs when he crossed the Hadriatic with two hundred ships of war. But he found, also, that disgusts had arisen between Demetrius of Pharus and his imperious mistress. This discovery made him direct his course for Corcyra. Demetrius welcomed his arrival, and surrendered to him the garrison with which he had been entrusted. The Corcyrians also received him with open arms, hoping, through help from the Romans, to be delivered from the yoke of the Illyrians.[18]

The defection of Demetrius ruined the affairs of Teuta. He accompaned Fulvius to Apollonia, and strenuously co-operated with him in all his measures. Shortly afterwards, the consul Posthumius arrived also at Apollonia, with 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. The combined strength of the consuls brought relief

[18] Polybius, l. ii. c. 9. et seq.

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successively to Epidamnus and Issa; and caused the sieges of these places to be raised. At Issa, a part of the besieging army revolted to Demetrius. Under his guidance, the Romans invaded the maritime parts of Illyricum, and received all the more valuable districts into their protection. Queen Teuta, with a handful of forces, was compelled to retire inland to a strong-hold called Rizon, watered by a river of the same name. The Romans rewarded the services of Demetrius by annexing such extensive territories to his little island of Pharus, as made him a considerable potentate on the eastern shore of the Hadriatic. The consul Fulvius then returned to Italy with the greater part of the fleet and army. His colleague Posthumius retained only forty ships, and wintered in Illyricum with a small body of troops, reinforced by levies in that country.[19]

Teuta submits and pays tribute for the narrow dominions left to her. Olymp. cxxxviii. 1. B.C. 228.

Early in the spring, Teuta anticipated further proceedings against her, by a suppliant embassy to Rome. She stipulated to cede all her dominions, a few places, and those of small importance, excepted: to pay tribute even for the little that was left her; and never to navigate beyond Lissus, her most southern harbour, in more than two vessels, and those unarmed. These conditions being admitted by the senate, the consul Posthumius notified to the principal states of Greece, then living in peace under the virtuous controul of Antigonus Doson, the be-

[19] Polybius, l. ii. c. 11. et seq.

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ginning and conclusion of a war, which so nearly concerned them. A bare recital of facts, formed the highest panegyrick of the Romans. They had avenged the violated laws of heralds, deemed of all things the most sacred; they had punished pirates whose enormities were openly professed and insultingly vindicated: and they had reduced to the lowest humiliation a state rising fast in power, and marking every step of its progress by new aggravations of outrage. The Achæans, Etolians, Athenians, Corinthians all vied with each other in their respectful treatment of the first Roman ambassadors that ever appeared in *Ancient*[20] Greece. The Corinthians admitted them to the Isthmian games, just ready to be celebrated, and even conferred on the Romans the right of participating thenceforward in a solemnity, till then exclusively appropriated to the Grecian name.[21]

The first embassy of the Romans to the states of Greece. Olymp. cxxxviii. 1. B.C. 228.

For seven years after this period, the Illyrians were entitled to the comparative praise of committing few injuries. Queen Teuta abdicated her government, in favour of Scerdilaidas, kinsman to her late husband. Scerdilaidas, as successor to Teuta, was bound by treaty, and Demetrius of Pharus was bound by fealty and gratitude, to respect the commands imposed on them by Rome. But when the Romans were infested by those Gallic inroads, which ended

Depredations of the Illyrians under Demetrius and Scerdilaidas. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. cxl. 1. B.C. 222—220.

[20] The Romans were masters of the continental part of Magna Græcia, and already connected by embassies with Apollonia, a Greek colony, and Egypt, a Greek conquest.

[21] Polybius, l. ii. c. 12.

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only four years before the commencement of the second Punic war, and which made them muster and employ their whole forces in Italy, Demetrius and Scerdilaidas, presuming on impunity, began to collect ships, and renew their depredations. Demetrius, in particular, plundered the Roman allies or subjects in Illyricum, and subdued several of their cities[22]: and then uniting with Scerdilaidas, sailed beyond Issus with seventy armed vessels, and extended his ravages to the lesser islands of the Ægæan. The Rhodians, indeed, prepared to restrain these enormities; but the Greeks on the continent, having engaged in the social war, were less solicitous about extirpating the Illyrian pirates, than desirous of obtaining their dishonourable aid in harassing each other.[23]

The consul Emilius sails to Illyricum and expels Demetrius of Pharus from that country. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

Meanwhile the Romans saw that a second conflict with Carthage was inevitable, though they little imagined that Hannibal would have commenced hostilities so soon by taking Saguntum, and then carrying his arms into Italy. They determined therefore to employ the present interval of tranquillity in chastising the defection of Demetrius, and thereby maintaining that sort of authority, which resulted from their valour and renown, among the nations east of the Hadriatic. Without any formal declaration of war against a rebel who, to his other odious crimes, added the blackest ingratitude, the consul Emilius sailed with a powerful arma-

[22] Polybius, l. iii. c. 16. [23] Id. l. iv. c. 16.

ment to Illyricum. Demetrius anticipated the arrival of the enemy, by destroying all those of his subjects whose resentment he dreaded, and then committing his inferior cities to persons in whom he put most trust, reinforced his two principal strong-holds, Dimalus on the continent, and Pharus in the island of the same name, with such supplies of men, provisions, and military stores, as might enable them to resist a long siege. Emilius began the war by making approaches to Dimalus on various sides at once, and gained it by storm on the seventh day. The inferior places in the neighbourhood submitted through terror; but Demetrius with six thousand chosen men had thrown himself into Pharus. The consul, upon sailing thither and examining the place, perceived that a regular siege must be attended with much delay and many difficulties. He therefore chose a dark night for sending into the island the greater part of his troops, who concealed themselves till morning, in hollow dens thickly covered with wood. At dawn, he appeared off the harbour with twenty vessels; the Illyrians rushed from their gates to obstruct his landing; as the battle grew warm, new numbers flocked from Pharus to support those already engaged with the enemy, until nearly the whole of the Illyrians had quitted the defence of their walls. At this crisis, the Romans emerged from their ambush, and seized a strong post between the deserted city and the scene of action in the harbour. Demetrius suddenly changed his front and courage-

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ously assailed these newly discovered adversaries. But he was routed and put to flight; a few of his men gained the city; many reached, by difficult paths, secret lurking places in the island: he himself escaped to a brigantine, which his guilty fears made him keep always ready for sea on a desert part of the coast, and in which he instantly embarked, to fly from his country and the Romans, to whom the taking of Dimalus and Pharus gave possession of all Illyricum.[24] Scerdilaidas, we know, was pardoned and afterwards protected by the victors; but what regulations they made for deriving benefit to themselves from the conquest, or in what manner, and under what conditions, the territory was divided among their allies, history does not record.

Demetrius of Pharus flies to king Philip. Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

Demetrius of Pharus sought refuge with king Philip, to whom his valour and misfortunes failed not to recommend him.[25] His vessel found that of the young prince in the Ambracian gulph, Philip being then on his way homeward to prepare for his famous expedition into Etolia.[26] Demetrius, at the king's desire, sailed to Corinth, and thence proceeded through Thessaly to Macedon. There, he was admitted into the number of the king's friends; and, as with the ferocity of a corsair, he could seasonably intermix the arts of a courtier, he gradually acquired a great and pernicious ascendency over

[24] Polybius, l. iii. c. 18. Conf. l. iv. c. 37 66. l. xxxii. c. 19.
[25] Id. ibid. [26] See above, c. xv. p. 22.

the Macedonian councils. His influence is said to have occasioned the rapacious and sacrilegious proceedings at Thermum; for Philip's great youth made his behaviour peculiarly liable to be moulded at will by his favourites, who stamped it alternately with the impressions of their opposite characters. Whenever he quitted the honourable path chalked out to him by Aratus and Chrysogonus, and behaved either cruelly to his enemies, or imperiously to his allies, all knew by whose maxims he had been guided, as surely as if they had over-heard his deliberations. The unfeeling Taurion, the unprincipled Demetrius, men who defied alike censure and danger, were pronounced in such cases to be his advisers.[27]

Encourages him to make war on the Romans.

At the instigation chiefly of Demetrius, Philip involved himself in hostilities with Rome and her allies, which lasted for a period of twenty years, but of which the longest portion is eclipsed in history, being contemporary with the second war between the Romans and Carthaginians, more properly called the war of Hannibal, since that general should seem to have undertaken it without the authority of his country[28], and certainly carried it on without any assistance from Carthage.

Hannibal sacks Saguntum. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

From his earliest years Hannibal had been inspired with relentless hatred to the Romans: the daring views of Hamilcar had been opened to him[29], and the vengeful soul of the father re-

[27] Polybius, l. v. c. 12. Conf. l. ix. c. 23.

[28] Fabius apud Polyb. l. iii. c. 8.

[29] Id. l. iii. c. 11.

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vived in the son, and flamed in his fiery breast with new intensity. During three years he served under Asdrubal in Spain, the terror of the Spanish enemy, the idol of the Carthaginian army; by which, on the death of its general, he was called to the chief command. His preferment was ratified at Carthage: to dispute it would only have shown the weakness of that government. Master of an army disciplined in seventeen campaigns, he speedily completed the conquest of all Spain south of the Iberus, except the single Greek city Saguntum. This place he next invested with an army, it is said, 150,000 strong. The Saguntines defended themselves eight months with equal skill and bravery; and when the sack of their city seemed inevitable, endeavoured, by destroying their most precious effects, to render the conquest of little value. Hannibal, however, recovered much gold and silver, highly useful to him in his transactions with the Gauls, who lay on his road to Italy. He saved also much elegant furniture, and much valuable merchandise, which being useless to himself, he transported into Carthage. The inhabitants of Saguntum were either put to the sword, or divided as slaves among his soldiers.[30]

Crosses the Alps into Italy. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

After this bloody prelude, he went into winter-quarters in New Carthage. The spring recalled him to the field: his brother Asdrubal was appointed to command in Spain; and after

[30] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 4. et seq. & Polybius, l. iii. c. 15. et seq.

all preparations, Hannibal undertook his long projected invasion of Italy. In the space of five months, he advanced from New Carthage to the foot of the Alps. In fifteen days, he crossed those mountains.[31] From characteristic circumstances[32], specified in the military historian Polybius, his march over the Alps should seem to have lain through Chambery, Montmelian, Montier, and the Little St. Bernard. It extended above a hundred miles in direct distance, from the commencement of the ascent at a place called Echelles, to Ivrèe, the ancient Eporedia, near to which the mountains first open into the great northern plain of Italy. This plain Hannibal entered with an army reduced to 20,000 infantry and 6000 horse; part of forty elephants which he had taken with him also remained. They had rewarded his trouble in conducting them through so many obstacles, by the terror which their formidable appearance in armour inspired into the barbarous nations on his route.[33]

Military resources of that country.

With this inconsiderable force he had invaded a country, the circumstances of which strongly discouraged such an undertaking. Seven years

[31] Polybius, l. iii. c. 56.

[32] Particularly the λευκοπετρον οχυρον, c. 51., now La Roche Blanche, two marches from Montier; and the necessity of making the road practicable three marches from the plain of Eporedia, τον κρημνον εξωκοδομει μετα πολλης ταλαιπωριας, c. 55. At La Thuille, (a corruption of Haute ville, as appears on comparing maps,) agreeing with this distance from Eporedia, the road is still annually repaired with pine planks. These observations I owe to my friend, the late General Melville, who examined the ground, with a view to the illustration of this celebrated march.

[33] Polyb. l. iii. c. 55.

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before his expedition, the Romans had been alarmed by those tumultuary[34] movements among the Gauls on both sides the Alps, which made them enter into a computation of the whole of their Italian strength; citizens, subjects, or allies. It amounted to 700,000 infantry and 70,000 horse.[35] The citizens alone, fit to bear arms, exceeded 250,000. Accordingly, the Boii and Insubres, leagued with their brethren beyond the Alps, were totally defeated three years afterwards; stripped of their main strong-hold Mediolanum, or Milan: and such of them as were permitted to remain in Italy, reduced to unconditional submission.[36] The Romans had legions in Sicily, Sardinia, Illyricum, and particularly in the territory which Hannibal now invaded, constituting the Cisalpine Gaul.

Proceedings of the consuls Scipio and Sempronius.

When apprised of the sack of Saguntum, Publius Scipio and Sempronius Longus, with their respective consular armies, were ordered, the former into Spain, the latter into Sicily: Scipio with 60 galleys, Sempronius with 220: for this great naval force seemed necessary for carrying the war into Africa. Scipio having touched at the long friendly emporium of Massilia, learned to his surprise that Hannibal was already in the country above a hundred miles north of him, preparing to pass the Rhone.

[34] Gallici tumultus, Tit. Liv. passim.

[35] Polyb. l. ii. c. 24. Conf. Diodorus, l. iii. s. 5. & Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xx.

[36] Conf. Strabo, l. v. p. 213. Polyb. l. iii. c. 40. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 39. & 40.

Thither the consul hastened, but found that his adversary had crossed the river, and got the start of him by three days on his way to Italy. The consul Publius Scipio determined therefore to send part of the army with his brother Cneius into Spain, while the remainder embarked with himself, and sailed from Massilia to Pisa. From thence he marched northward, not doubting, after he had been reinforced by the troops in Cisalpine Gaul, to overwhelm the exhausted invaders, as they descended into that country from the Alps.[37] The armies met at the river Ticinus. Hannibal's infantry, the hardened remnants of so many labours and dangers, might be superior to that of the enemy, comparatively a militia: he had brought it into a situation that left no alternative but victory or death. But the success of this battle is ascribed wholly to his cavalry.[38] The consul was wounded; and his life narrowly saved by the intrepidity of a son, then in his seventeenth year, the future conqueror of Carthage.

Battles of Ticinus and Trebia. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

Hannibal's unexpected invasion, his more incredible victory, allies prepared for defection, and subjects ready for rebellion, made the Romans recal the consul Sempronius from Sicily, after he had defeated a Carthaginian fleet, and was preparing to make a descent on Africa. In forty

[37] Hannibal's war in Italy forms the most splendid portion of Livy's history. It runs through nine books, l. xxi—xxx. The subject derives peculiar interest from the rich and fervid narrative of the historian, as well as from the enterprise of his hero.

[38] Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 24. et seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

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days he joined his colleague on the river Trebia. A new battle was fought, in which Hannibal prevailed, through a well-contrived ambush.[39]

Of Trasimenus. Olymp. cxl. 4. B.C. 217.

Next year he crossed the Apennines, and drew the consul Flaminius into a snare, on the intricate banks of the lake Trasimenus in Tuscany, in which that rash commander perished, with the greater part of his army.[40] Having thus gained an ascendency in the north by the battles of Ticinus and Trebia, and in the central district of Tuscany, by the battle of Trasimenus, he next year marched southward to Apulia, and surpassed all these exploits in his tremendous

Of Cannæ. Olymp. cxli. 1. B.C. 216.

victory at Cannæ, by which the vengeance was satiated long brooding in the family of Barcas. The consuls Emilius and Varro had 80,000 foot: Hannibal's infantry had now augmented to 40,000; and his cavalry, so diligent had he been to increase it, now surpassed in number that of the Romans. By advancing his Gauls and other auxiliaries in a crescent, with its convexity towards the enemy, while its horns rested on two divisions of his own hardy veterans, he brought on a battle in which his centre, giving way to the Romans, the pursuers were attacked on both flanks by his veterans, and lost above fifty thousand men. The Carthaginian cavalry greatly contributed to the havock of the rout. The consul Emilius was slain; 10,000 Romans, guarding the camp, were made prisoners: only

39 Polyb. l. iii. c. 69. et seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 54—56.

40 Polyb. l. iii. c. 84. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 4.

seventy horsemen escaped with Varro to Venusia.[41]

Hannibal's subsequent war in Italy. Causes that made it unsuccessful. Olymp. cxli. 1.—cxliv. 2. B. C. 216—205.

Battles less destructive have overturned many a powerful kingdom; but these bloody conflicts shook not the stability of the Roman commonwealth. Hannibal was indeed master of the open country, but in that age most cities in Italy were well fortified; some garrisoned by the Romans, the greater part defended by the bravery of their own citizens. The consul Varro assumed a commanding attitude at Venusia: Naples defied Hannibal from its walls: and he received a check from Marcellus in attempting Nola.[42] A better hope was founded on alienating, under the plausible pretence of liberty, the Roman subjects or allies. But the higher orders of men, in almost every dependent community, remained unalterably firm in their allegiance, and overawed sedition from within, while they manfully prepared to repel hostility from without.[43] Capua, the most shameless city of Campania, itself the most profligate district in all Italy, is thought to have done a real service to the Romans, by opening its gates to the invaders.[44] But had these invaders kept unsullied the supposed purity of their virtue, the ultimate issue of the conflict would not have been different. For Rome, according to the just comparison of Pyrrhus, was endowed with the renovating qualities of the Hydra.[45] An armed

[41] Polyb. l. iii. c. 115. et seq. Tit. Liv. xxii. c. 47. et seq.
[42] Tit. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 16.
[43] Ibid. l. xxiii. c. 20.
[44] Ibid. c. 18.
[45] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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people, habituated from earliest youth to military exercises, afforded an exhaustless supply of recruits; and the decree, investing every Roman who had borne the office of consul with temporary command, provided the immediate direction of able generals. Though Hannibal remained thirteen years longer in Italy, where Gauls in the north, and Greeks in the south, often co-operated with him as allies, he gained not any fresh laurels. The Romans had sent Publius Scipio to reinforce his brother Cneius in Spain. They employed armies in Sicily, Sardinia, and the countries beyond the Hadriatic. Their exertions abroad, were not interrupted by the dangers threatening them at home; and when, five years after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, in hopes of raising the siege of Capua, marched suddenly to surprise Rome, he found three armies in order of battle prepared to receive him. Having encamped on the banks of the Anio, scarcely four miles distant from the capitol, he learned that the ground occupied by his army had brought its full value at a public auction, and that a body of Romans had marched through an opposite gate of the city, to reinforce the legions in Spain.[46] Yet in this long warfare, Hannibal's admirable abilities gave the Romans no opportunity of combating him with advantage. When they endeavoured to force him into action, they were generally losers by the attempt: but the system of procrastination and caution succeeded with

[46] Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 11.

them far better; and Fabius Maximus, who had first adopted it, gained unperishing renown as the saviour of his country.[47] CHAP. XVI.

Philip's league with Hannibal, and preparations. Olymp. cxli. 2. B.C. 215.

A few months after the battle of Cannæ, Philip of Macedon, at the instigation of Demetrius of Pharus, adopted three very decisive measures. He entered into an intimate alliance with Hannibal, including the states friendly to both parties, and ratified by awful invocations of the gods of Macedon and Carthage.[48] He began to build armed transports on the Illyrian model, as the fittest for conveying forces into Italy; and he attacked Scerdilaidas, the Roman ally, in Illyricum, and in a short time divested him of the greater part of his possessions.[49]

Death of Hieron of Syracuse. Olymp. cxli. 2. B.C. 215.

Shortly after Hannibal had cemented his league with Philip, the Romans lost a zealous friend in Hieron of Syracuse, who died in his 96th year, amidst strenuous exertions to suppress defection among the Roman subjects in Sicily. From the close of the first Punic war, that island had remained very unequally divided between Rome and her Syracusan ally. The dominion of Syracuse was confined to a narrow strip of land, stretching about fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, from Achræ to Tauromenium, and comprehending these frontier towns, together with several other places of note, particularly Leontium, Megara, and Elorus.

[47] Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem
Ergo postque, magisque, viri nunc gloria claret. Ennuis.
Apud Cicer. de Offic. l. i. c. 24. & Plutarch Fab. Maxim.

[48] Polyb. l. iii. c. 2. & l. vii. c. 9. [49] Id. l. v. c. 108.

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But the government of Hieron, and his admirable management of his little territory, affords, as it were, a delightful resting place in our painful journey through scenes of perfidy and cruelty, of insatiable ambition, and relentless vengeance.

His wise policy at home and abroad.

His government was formed on the fairest model of the heroic age: the senate was called to deliberate, and the assembly to decide, while Gelon, the son of Hieron, himself in the maturity of years, co-operated in perfect cordiality with his father in the controul and execution of all public measures.[50] Hieron had wisely chosen his party between Rome and Carthage, but when the latter state was threatened with total ruin in the war with her own mercenaries, he employed his utmost endeavours to serve and save her; deeming the existence of Carthage essential to the independence of Syracuse, since the destruction of that republic would have laid him altogether at the mercy of Rome.[51] When Rome on the other hand, seemed ready to sink under the impetuous shocks of Ticinus and Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannæ, Hieron spared neither gold nor blood to support her. His fleet and army were at the disposal of his allies; and the money, which *he* chiefly supplied, enabled the pretor Valerius seasonably to cross the Hadriatic, and to find such employment, at home, for king Philip, as rendered the alliance of that prince of little importance to Hannibal.[52]

50 Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 88. l. vii. c. 8. & Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 4. et seq.

51 Polybius, l. i. c. 83.

52 Ibid. l. iii. c. 75. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 37.

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Fortifications of Syracuse.

The vast wealth of Hieron flowed from the purest sources. He was the strenuous promoter of productive and commercial industry. Rural labour, the surest and safest of all employments for the multitude, he forwarded by judicious regulations, by still more useful examples, and by wise and salutary precepts, contained in many valuable treatises which he wrote on that subject.[53] The best blessings of peace, he made permanent by a constant preparation for war; and in an age, when skill in sieges kept not pace with other branches of military science, the vast extent of Syracuse was rendered on all sides impregnable. In this undertaking he was assisted by the great Archimedes, his friend, some say his kinsman, who, at the king's earnest desire, descended from those sublime speculations which occupied the Newton of antiquity, and applied his wonderful powers of combination and invention to matters of coarse mechanical practice.[54] But of his extraordinary contrivances for the defence of Syracuse, there was not any occasion to make use in the long course of this politic and pacific reign.

Hieron's galley of 20 tier of oars.

The prosperity of every Greek city was marked by a superabundance of inestimable productions in all the arts of design. The architectural embellishments of Syracuse were regarded among the brightest glories of Hieron's administration: he was distinguished by his magnificence[55] in re-

[53] Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 3.

[54] Plutarch in Marcello.

[55] Athenæus, l. v. p. 205.

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ligious games and solemnities, particularly in dramatic exhibitions; and so catching are the follies of our own times, that Hieron vied with contemporary Greek kings in constructing and equipping a galley of twenty tier of oars, uniting the strength of a fortress with all the conveniencies and elegancies of a royal palace. This moving castle, which Sicilian poets likened to mount Ætna, consumed the timber necessary for building sixty trireme galleys. It was compacted by iron bolts, weighing ten and fifteen pounds: its engines launched balls of 300 pounds to the distance of a furlong: one of its masts is said to have been transported from the mountains of Britain[56]; its cordage was composed of broom from Spain and hemp from Gaul: the commerce of the world was ransacked for its ornaments; ivory images of the gods, altars glowing with gems and breathing Indian perfumes, the marbles and more precious materials inlaying its lowest floor, and curiously disposed in mosaic, representing Homer's battles. This prodigy of ill-directed art, for whose safe passage Neptune is tremblingly[57] invoked by the poet, was built by Archias of Corinth, and launched on the waves by Phileas of Tauromenium; and is said to have been navigated from the harbour of Syracuse to that of Alexandria, as a present to Ptolemy Philadelphus, being,

[56] Is. Casaubon, however, reads *εν τοις ορεσι της Βρεττιας*, in the mountains of the Brutii. Animadvers. in Athen. l. v. p. 229.

[57] *Αλλα ποσειδων σωζε κατα γλαυκων σελμα τοδε ροθεων.* Archimelus Atheniensis apud Athen. l. v. p. 209.

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indeed, less absurdly adapted to the navigation of the Nile.[58]

Reign of Hieronymus, and distractions consequent on it. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

Hieron, dying at the age of ninety-six, was succeeded by a youth of seventeen, born to his son Gelon by Nereis, daughter to Pyrrhus.[59] Hieronymus, for this was his name, is described as a prey to the vilest passions, but possessing a will of his own, and an ear open to contrariety of council. To this youth, who disdained submission to those naturally entitled to guide him, Hannibal sent Epicydes and Hippocrates, brothers, whose father, a native of Syracuse, had long lived in exile at Carthage. These men were agents in all respects worthy of their employer; bold, dextrous, deceitful; with resources in every difficulty, with intrepidity in every danger. At their persuasion, Hieronymus embraced measures highly offensive to the Romans, and when ambassadors came from that people to remonstrate with him, asked insultingly to hear from them a more accurate account, than had yet, he said, reached his ears, of the battle of Cannæ.[60] The cruel contumely of Hieronymus provoked a conspiracy of his subjects, to which, after a reign of scarcely one year, he fell a sacrifice. The Syracusans were summoned to liberty: the ancient form of democracy returned with all its tumult and outrage; and one revolution succeeded to another, until the brothers, sent by Hannibal, made their way

[58] Archimelus Atheniensis apud Athen. l. v. p. 207. et seq.
[59] Polybius, l. vii. c. 4.
[60] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 6.

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to supreme power by a series of lies and forgeries; of dark intrigues and daring assassinations.[61] This state of affairs occasioned the memorable siege of Syracuse which, after an obstinate warfare of three years, gave to the consul Marcellus possession of a city computed to be richer[62] than Carthage itself; besides, that the natural consequence of its capture, the complete reduction of Sicily, prepared the way for the Roman expedition into Africa, and the humiliation of Carthage into the state of a disarmed and tributary vassal.

Philip's odious proceedings. Olymp. cxli. 3. B.C. 214.

Meanwhile Philip, in conformity to his treaty with Hannibal, had equipped a fleet of a hundred Liburnians, in which he purposed to transport forces from Illyricum into Italy. But false intelligence communicated by some Sicilian merchantmen, that a squadron of Roman quinqueremes was ready to oppose his passage, determined him to return into harbour. Enraged at the deceit practised on him, and the loss of an opportunity of co-operating with his ally, his light and fiery mind, yet untamed by adversity, vented its ungoverned anger in proceedings as frantic as they were detestable. His general in Peloponnesus, in contravention to the peace recently established, seized the mountainous fortress Ithomé, commanding the Messenian capital.[63] Demetrius of Pharus said, that this was to hold the bull of Peloponnesus by the two

[61] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 7—27. [62] Id. l. xxv. c. 31.
[63] Polybius, l. vii. c. 12.

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horns; meaning thereby the Acro-Corinthus in the north and Ithomé in the south. But Aratus pleaded so strongly the cause of Messené and of justice, that the king was prevailed on to let slip his victim. Shortly afterwards, he repented of this act of mercy, and sent Demetrius to assault and recover the strong-hold. The undertaking was as rashly conducted, as it had been wickedly concerted. Demetrius was repelled and slain; and Philip avenged the death of a man so undeservedly dear to him, by merciless depredation on the Messenian territory, and by poisoning Aratus, whose honest remonstrances were no longer tolerable to a tyrant.[64] His instrument in this crime was the infamous Taurion, who had long been entrusted with his affairs in the Peloponnesus. Aratus bore the incurable effects of the poison with a composure worthy of his great character. The Achæans, over whom he presided as pretor for the seventeenth time, did not even suspect the cause of his declining health, which he never hinted at in public; though to Cephalon, a confidential friend, who lamented at seeing him spit blood, "such," he said, "my dear Cephalon, are the fruits of royal gratitude!" He died with the affectionate reverence of private friends, and was interred at Sicyon with unfeigned expressions of public sorrow: the cities of Achaia continuing to unite, for centuries, in the celebration of his fame by rites confined to the most illustrious public benefactors.[65]

Death of Aratus. Olymp. cxli. 4. B. C. 213.

[64] Polybius, l. iii. c. 14.

[65] Plutarch in Arato. Faint testimonies, δειγματα μικρα, of the

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The pretor Valerius obliges Philip to raise the siege of Apollonia. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

After the death of Demetrius of Pharus, the great promoter of the Roman war, Philip should seem to have adopted the resolution of first making himself completely master of Illyricum, before he ventured to pass into Italy. In this view, he besieged Oricum, and gained possession of that seaport, which stood directly opposite to Hadruntum, on the narrowest part of the Strait. He was on the point also of taking Apollonia, the oldest Roman ally beyond the Hadriatic; when the pretor Valerius crossed that sea with a strong armament, recovered Oricum, in which Philip had left but a feeble garrison; and then proceeding with silence and celerity to Apollonia, threw himself by an obscure path into the place, with a chosen detachment. His presence encouraged the Apollonians to attack the besieging army in the night. The enterprise was conducted with such secresy and boldness, that even the royal pavilion was in danger. The Macedonians fled in precipitation; three thousand of them were slain or taken; their camp became a booty to the Romans; only the battering engines were granted to the Apollonians, that the same machines which had been constructed against them, might thenceforward be employed in their defence.[66]

Philip's conquests in Illyricum.

The Roman fleet wintered at Oricum and Apollonia, and left these places so well guarded, that Philip, after more vigorous preparations

honours once paid to him subsisted three centuries after his death. Plut. p. 1052.

[66] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40.

Olymp. cxli. 3. B.C. 214.

than formerly, thought proper to direct his arms against a different part of the coast. Lissus and its citadel Acro-Lissus stood an hundred miles north of Apollonia. They were deemed the most important and strongest places in the whole country. Philip gained both, by a stratagem well concerted and boldly executed. At the foot of Acro-Lissus, and between this fortress and the city, there was a hollow den overhung by thick wood: the remainder of the space between the city and citadel consisted of plain ground, well adapted to the approaches of besiegers. In the den just mentioned, Philip had the address to conceal a stout detachment. The day afterwards, he proceeded with his light forces into the plain, and made show of advancing his machines against the city. The troops and armed inhabitants in Lissus sallied from their gates: Philip gave way; the men, who garrisoned Acro-Lissus, hastened to join their companions in the pursuit; but had no sooner advanced beyond the ambush, than the Macedonians started up, and clambering over some adjacent craggs, darted through the wood, and took possession of the deserted citadel. Philip, at the same time, turned unexpectedly on his pursuers, and drove them back in dismay to Lissus. That city was taken after repeated assaults, in which the king showed much skill and courage: and the fame of such exploits intimidated most cities in Illyricum into a voluntary surrender.[67]

[67] Polybius, l. viii. c. 15. et seq.

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Philip thus deprived the Romans of their conquests in that country; but, before he could entirely subdue it to himself, his politic adversaries gained over him a very decided advantage in negociation. This was a treaty which the pretor Valerius entered into with the Etolians, including all allies of the contracting parties. In consequence of this agreement, copies of which were inscribed in Jupiter's temple at Olympia, and in the Roman capitol[68], Philip's designs against Italy were completely defeated through his necessity of encountering the same Grecian enemies with whom he had contended in the social war, the Etolians, Elians, and Spartans; in addition to these, the Messenians, recently incensed by his wanton cruelties.

Treaty between the Romans and Etolians. Olymp. cxlii. 1. B. C. 212.

Meanwhile, Hannibal received not any succours from Carthage. A reinforcement of forty elephants and 4000 Numidian horse had been, indeed, voted to him; but before this supply could be got ready to sail, its destination was changed from Italy to Spain[69], in which latter country, his brother Asdrubal was now hardly pressed by the Scipios. Not only Spain, in which they had so many lucrative establishments, but even Sicily, in which, upon the commotions following the death of Hieron and the destruction of his family, they hoped once more to recover their ascendency, appeared to the Carthaginians a scene of action more inviting than Italy, the theatre of great but unprofitable

Events that caused the siege of Syracuse. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

68 Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24.

69 Id. l. xxiii. c. 13. & 32.

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victories. To foment defection among the Roman subjects in Sicily, considerable armies had been already sent from Carthage; and these were speedily increased, when it was understood that the Syracusans, abused by the audacious artifices of Epicydes and Hippocrates, had violated their long peace with Rome, and set the resentment of that state at defiance.[70] The consul Marcellus, who had by this time reinforced the pretor Appius hitherto commanding in Sicily, immediately concerted with him the fittest means for besieging Syracuse by sea and land.

Description of that city.

To explain clearly the events which happened in the course of this undertaking, it is necessary briefly to advert to the general plan of Syracuse, and to the distribution of the various parts of that great and rich city. It stood on a head-land, projecting in the form of a triangle from the eastern coast of Sicily. The base advanced into the sea, which flowed a considerable way up the sides. These sides extended westward over the craggy eminences Epipolæ, gradually approaching each other until they finally united in the rock Euryelus, forming the vertex of the triangle. Disposed in a shape, similar to that of the island of which it was the capital, Syracuse measured eighteen miles in circuit, and contained five divisions, deserving each of them the name of city, in point of strength as well as magnitude. The largest di-

[70] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 27—33.

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vision, called Acradina, formed the basis of the triangle, its outward wall washed by the sea. The little island Ortygia lay before the southern extremity of Acradina, forming with it two harbours, one on either side of the island: the two next divisions, the more northern called Tycha, and the southern Neapolis, bordered on Acradina, only separated from it by walls. The last, and most inland division, consisted of the craggy eminences Epipolæ; a quarter taken within the city for the sake chiefly of security, with the rock Euryelus above-mentioned, towering at its extremity, and frowning in defiance over the circumjacent country.[71]

Operations against it. Olymp. cxli. 3. cxlii. 1. B. C. 214—212.

In the space of five days, Appius, with incredible diligence, had provided whatever seemed necessary for the siege by land; but the first memorable attack appears to have been made by Marcellus against Acradina with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes. Not trusting to the stones and javelins thrown from single vessels for clearing the enemies' walls, he joined two quinqueremes together, by their respective sides, and covered them with a strong floor of wood. On this floor, he applied huge ladders, provided on either side with balustrades, and having at one end a firm stage encompassed with parapets. As this double quinquereme approached the walls, the ladder was raised aloft, and propped, as it rose, by beams of various lengths; so that

[71] For the dimensions and divisions of Syracuse, see Thucydid. l. vi. Strabo, l. vi. Cicero in Verr. l. iv. Few great cities are so distinctly described.

the soldiers might safely mount it, and having reached the stage at top, drive the enemy from their battlements. This machine received the name of Sackbut, because it nearly resembled in shape this triangular harp; the swelling base of the instrument being represented by the joined quinqueremes; its sides and strings respectively, by the sloping ladder, and the various props by which it was supported.[72]

Its wonderful defence.

Now an opportunity first offered to Archimedes, for displaying, in all its powers, the wonderful machinery which, at the desire of king Hieron, he had erected. His philosophical mind, if insensible to personal glory, was not to that of his art. Syracuse, indeed, had fallen into bad hands; but he would still exert his abilities in defence of his country. Perhaps he was duped by the artifices through which Epicydes and Hippocrates had irritated the public mind against the Romans; a geometer is not the best judge in matters depending on moral evidence. But whatever motive determined him; glory, patriotism, the delusions, or even the threats of the unworthy usurpers of Syracuse, it is certain that his abilities long retarded, and might, but for events against which the utmost skill in defence could not avail, have ultimately defeated the operations against that unfortunate city. He had engines fitted to all distances: the hostile armament was battered while yet a furlong from the walls, and when

[72] Polybius, l. viii. c. 6—8.

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the enemy waited darkness to make his approaches more safely, huge beaks projecting beyond the battlements, at the slightest touch of a cord, precipitated masses of stone and metal, weighing, many of them, ten talents.[73] By such means, the sackbuts, four in number, were broke in pieces, while any single vessels, that ventured to come near, were grappled by iron hands, and, when the part seized had been raised to a fit height, suddenly replunged into the sea with destructive violence.[74] Appius was not

[73] 600 lb.

[74] Polybius ubi supra. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell. Marcellus jested at this rude reception, saying, that his ships were entertained with brimful goblets, while the *sackbuts* were pelted with stones and driven disgracefully from the feast. Polyb. l. v. c. 37. The joke lies in the equivocal word *sackbut*, denoting not only the musical instrument, but the girl who played on it. Such girls were rudely dismissed when they displeased either by their music or their manners. I have not mentioned the burning glasses by which Archimedes is said to have destroyed the Roman fleet. Zonaras and Tzetzes, to whom we owe this report, lived 14 centuries after the siege of Syracuse; and are discredited by the silence of Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch. The verses of Tzetzes, Chil. ii. v. 119. et seq. are obscure and barbarous; they suggested, however, to Father Kircher the idea, that the effect ascribed to Archimedes's burning glasses, might be produced by a combination of plain mirrors; with 400 of which, so arranged as to reflect their heat on the same object. Buffon succeeded in the experiment of melting lead and tin at the distance of 140 feet. Mem. de L'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1746. Archimedes needs not the glory of this and other doubtful inventions, to support his fame: it rests on "the sphere and cylinder," the admirable work "on spiral lines;" and two other treatises, "ϖερι επιπεδων ισορροπικων, and ϖερι οχȣμενων," in which he explains the true principles of staticks and hydrostaticks. Conf. Fabric. Biblothec. Græc. l. iii. c. 22. In the treatise ϖερι οχȣμενων, we find principles affording the solution of the famous question referred to him concerning the composition of Hieron's crown. The artist, instead of making this elegant piece of work-

more successful in his assaults by land, than Marcellus in those by sea. The siege of Syracuse was therefore converted into a blockade under the pretor, while the consul, with one third of the army, marched to quell insurrection in other parts of the island. He was opposed by 20,000 men under Himilco, assisted by Hippocrates, who, while his brother Epicydes ably defended Syracuse, thought his own activity might be usefully employed in co-operating with the Carthaginian general. The flames of

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manship of pure gold, as the king had desired, combined in it a large quantity of inferior metal. To find this quantity, Archimedes provided two masses, one of gold, another of the inferior metal; and each of the same weight with the crown. He then weighed these masses in water, to discover what proportions of their weight they respectively lost. The gold, he knew, being the more compact, would lose the least; because any body is less heavy in water, by the weight of a quantity of water equal to its own bulk. Having thus ascertained the parts of their weight lost respectively by the gold, the inferior metal, and the composite crown, it was easy to perceive that the quantity of gold in the composition must bear the same proportion to that of the inferior metal, as the difference of weights lost by the crown and inferior metal to the difference of weights lost by the crown and the gold. Another method of solving the same question is given by Vitruvius de Architect. l. ix. c. 3. It is that copied in all modern compilements, though less ingenious, and therefore less worthy of Archimedes. The glassy sphere of Archimedes, representing the true picture of the Heavens, is best known by Claudian's Epigram:—

> Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
> Risit et ad superos talia verba dedit;
> Huccine mortalis progressa potentia curæ!
> Ecce Syracusii ludimur arte senis.

Pope, if he did not borrow, has hit on, the same thought,—

> Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
> And showed a Newton as we show an ape.
> Essay on Man, Epist. ii. v. 33, 34.

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discord thus raged more widely: cities were taken, lost, and recovered; both parties were powerfully reinforced; and while other scenes of the war excited comparatively little interest, all men turned their eyes to the well sustained conflict in Sicily.[75] Marcellus, having compelled his opponents to shut themselves up in Agrigentum, returned to assist Appius in the siege of Syracuse. His assaults were as unprosperous as before; and when, by means of Syracusan exiles, who had joined him, he gained a strong party within the city, the intrigues of those traitors were disconcerted by Epicydes, a traitor of far greater dexterity.

Part of the city taken. Olymp. cxlii. 1. B.C. 212.

The following occurrence at length, opened a gleam of hope to the besiegers. Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, had been employed as a confidential agent between Hannibal and his co-adjutor Epicydes on one side, and king Philip on the other. In his way to Macedon from Syracuse, Damippus had fallen into the hands of the Romans. Epycides wished exceedingly to recover him; and Marcellus was the less unwilling to release him, because the Romans at this time were solicitous, as we have above shown, to gain the friendship of the Lacedæmonians, his countrymen. In consequence of this disposition on both sides, deputations met to treat of his ransom at the fort of Galeagra, overlooking that part of the sea which washed the northern wall of the city. A Roman soldier availed himself of this

[75] Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 35. et seq. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell.

opportunity to examine the wall narrowly, and having noted the spot where it was most assailable, communicated his observation to Marcellus. The general delayed, however, to proceed on this information, until apprised by deserters, that the Syracusans, in perfect security, were celebrating Diana's festival; that, amidst the scarcity of other luxuries, wine had been distributed to them in great profusion; and that two preceding carousals would probably be outdone by the intemperance of the third and last day of the solemnity.[76] Upon this intelligence, Marcellus selected a fit band of assailants, provided with ladders of the necessary height, for the soldier had carefully remarked the size of the stones and the number of layers in which they rose above each other. At that hour of the night, when Syracuse was most likely to be buried in sleep and wine, the wall was scaled by 1000 men, who, finding the solitude around them disturbed only by a few drunken revellers, hastened westward to the Hexapyle, or "Six Gateways," forming so many entrances to the quarter called Tycha. Having burst open the least obstinate barricade, they admitted their watchful companions in such numbers, that the business was no longer to elude, but to terrify the enemy. The trumpets were sounded; a general shout was raised; and the guards in Tycha and Epipolæ only waked from their intoxication to fall headlong from the walls, or to fly in terror through the streets.

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[76] Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 23. et seq.

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Acradina and Ortygia defended by Epicydes.

The sound of arms had scarcely reached Acradina and Ortygia, in the latter of which Epicydes occupied the royal palace, when Marcellus at dawn entered the Hexapyle, with the greater part of his army. Epicydes hastened to repel the assailants, venting execrations against those who had allowed the wall to be scaled, and reproaching the cowards, who, flocking to him on his way, greatly increased, he said, by exaggerating, the danger. But when a nearer approach made him acquainted with the full extent of his misfortunes, he returned with the utmost diligence to secure Acradina and the island, the only parts of the city which he judged to be still tenable. Meanwhile Marcellus, having gained the fortresses in Epipolæ, successively took possession of Tycha and Neapolis. The submission of the inhabitants saved their lives, but came too late to protect their property. Those regions of the city were subjected to a general pillage, though Marcellus, at first entering the place, and viewing its vastness and magnificence from the heights which gave name to Epipolæ, shed tears of pity at the hard duty which the obstinacy and impolicy of the Syracusans had imposed on him[77]: he remembered the high renown of the commonwealth, its innumerable trophies over Carthage, its signal triumph over Athens in the zenith of her glory; above all, the late virtuous reign of Hieron, during which Syracuse had continued for up-

[77] Tit. Liv. & Plutarch ubi supra.

wards of fifty years to be intimately connected with Rome in an alliance equally useful and honourable to both parties.

The Carthaginians assist Syracuse by land and sea.

Meanwhile Epicydes exerted equal diligence and dexterity for the defence of Acradina and Ortygia; in which, chiefly, consisted the admired splendour of the city. The assaults of the Romans had been repelled vigorously on every side, when Hippocrates and Himilco arrived to succour the besieged at the head of a great army. Battles were fought with various success, and the combatants did not suffer more cruelly from each other, than from the pestilence, a common evil, which after greatly afflicting both, finally swept away almost the whole Carthaginian army, with the two generals commanding it. Their Sicilian auxiliaries dispersed into neighbouring cities; while Epicydes, though deprived of external aid, persevered in defending his walls with unabating energy.[78] This obstinacy of resistance, allowed time for a new effort in his favour. A fleet, consisting of 230 large galleys and 700 victuallers, sailed prosperously from Carthage to the southern coast of Sicily, and anchored, most of them, at a place called the Harbour of Ulysses, on the farther side of Pachynus; but a strong wind from the eastward rendered it impossible to double that promontory. The news of this vast armament, its first successful navigation, and long subsequent delay, excited alternate emotions of hope and fear among the besiegers

[78] Tit. Liv. & Plutarch ubi supra.

and besieged. Epicydes, who dreaded that, should the storm continue to blow from the east, Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, would sail back to Carthage, determined to join him with the utmost expedition, leaving the defence of Syracuse, meanwhile, in the hands of his lieutenants; and Marcellus, who perceived that the Carthaginian partisans throughout Sicily were encouraged to new exertions by the prospect of such powerful assistance, hastened to sea, though with an inferior fleet, in the design of fighting the enemy. The two fleets were on opposite sides of Pachynus. The cessation of the tempestuous east-wind enabled them to come in sight of each other. Epicydes exerted all his endeavours to inspire Bomilcar with confidence; but that commander no sooner perceived the Romans advancing towards him in full sail, than, being seized with a sudden panic, he bore away with the ships of war, and sent orders to the transports in Heraclæa and other harbours, to make all haste into Africa. Epicydes, totally disconcerted by this unaccountable cowardice, instead of returning to Syracuse, which he considered as now lost [79], sailed to Agrigentum, and after occasioning new troubles to the Romans there, finally escaped safe into Africa.

Cowardice of Bomilcar their admiral.

The destruction of the Carthaginian army, followed by this shameful flight of the fleet, diffused consternation through a large body of Sicilian rebels, who had again assembled in the

The remaining divisions of Syracuse taken through

[79] Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 27.

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the treachery of Mericus a Spaniard. Olymp. cxlii. 1. B. C. 212.

neighbourhood of Syracuse. They wished by any means to obtain forgiveness; and, for this purpose, while they applied directly to Metellus, they sent a numerous deputation into the besieged city, with a view to prevail on it to capitulate. The deputies intimated their commission to such Syracusans only as had been long connected with them in the bonds of old hereditary friendship; and they soon understood, that all attempts to bring about any offer of capitulation must prove fruitless, while those men remained alive, whom Epicydes had left in authority. This obstacle being removed by the help of assassins, an embassy was sent to Marcellus, imploring his clemency. But, before his answer could be received, Syracuse was subjected to a new calamity. The Roman deserters in the place well knew that the mercy which might be shown to others, would not be extended to them; and had the address to make many bodies of Greek mercenaries unite with them as in a common cause. The best part of the citizens were intimidated, the worst abetted the sedition. The gates were shut against the Romans, and guarded more carefully than ever. Yet, after the first ferment had subsided, it was determined that the persons sent to Marcellus should be readmitted, and together with them a deputation from that general. Among the soldiers escorting his deputies, the Roman commander, who had learned, by secret intelligence, that one of the three gates of Acradina was entrusted to

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Mericus, a Spaniard, sent a fit agent of that nation then serving among his auxiliaries. Through the persuasion of this Spaniard, his countryman was induced to betray his post. The Romans, having thus entered Acradina by treachery, completed their success by arms, both there and in the island Ortygia connected with it by a bridge.

The city plundered.

Being exempted from observing any measures with the Syracusans, they imposed no bounds to their rapacity, except what seemed necessary for securing to the Roman exchequer a due proportion of the booty, particularly the money contained in the royal treasury in Ortygia.

Death of Archimedes.

Amidst innumerable acts of rage and cruelty, one only is pointedly commemorated, but by this alone, laurels, brighter than those of Marcellus, deserve to be for ever blasted. The murder of Archimedes, in which the majesty of science was violated, is so variously recorded, that the Romans should seem, through shame, never to have made any authentic report of it.[80]

His tomb discovered at the distance of 139 years by Cicero.

A tomb, by order of the conqueror, was erected for him in the suburb, and inscribed, as had been his own desire, with a sphere and cylinder. At the distance of 139 years from this period, Cicero, when questor in Sicily, asked the magistrates of Syracuse, who were officiously pointing out to him less interesting objects, for the tomb of Archimedes. They could not acquaint him with its site; and, to cloak their ignorance, denied the existence of any such monument. By his

[80] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 31. & Plutarch in Marcell.

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command, he was then conducted beyond the gate to an ancient cemetery. After much search amidst brambles and rubbish, a stône was found, bearing a sphere and cylinder, with part also of the mouldering inscription on this great geometer. Cicero boasts of his discovery with honest exultation [81], and contrasts his own keen curiosity with the careless indifference of the magistrates of Syracuse, one of the noblest cities of Greece, and once one of the most learned. But he considered not, or, considering, forbore to mention, the cause of this wretched degeneracy.

Glory of the Sicilians in arts and letters.

Geometry, indeed, since the decline of the Pythagoreans in Sicily, might be regarded as a sort of exotic, transplanted laboriously from Egypt. But the Sicilians, while an independent nation, produced poets, orators, and historians, many of whom we have had occasion to commemorate. The eloquence of Gorgias of Leontium, was admired even in Athens. The historians Antiochus [82], Philistus, Callias, Antander, Timæus, furnished a chain of narrative downward from the 90th to the 129th Olympiad and the Punic wars, including the affairs of Sicily, and of all those countries with which that island was connected. But pastoral poetry was the peculiar boast of the Sicilians, and should seem to have flourished in their island from the fabulous times of Daphnis [83] and Diomus [84], to those of Bion

[81] Tusculan. Quæst. l. v. c. 3.
[82] Diodor. l. xii. p. 533. & Strabo, l. vi. p. 254.
[83] Diodor. l. iv. sub. fin. & Schol. in Theocrit.
[84] Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 619.

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and Moschus, in the age of Ptolemy Philometor.[85] In the space, however, of seventy-three years from the death of Philometor, to the discovery of the tomb of Archimedes by Cicero, the Sicilian muses had become dumb, and both literature and science were totally neglected. Such was the change produced on this lively and ingenious people by bad management among themselves, and by the accumulated oppression of provincial government.

Oppression and degradation under the Romans.

Marcellus stripped Syracuse of riches not inferior to what the sack of Carthage would have yielded, and of works of art, adorning public monuments, which no wealth could purchase. The Romans thus usurped the trophies reared over many foreign enemies by this long illustrious republic; and by decking their own capital with ornaments which they had neither genius to invent, nor dexterity to imitate, they exposed themselves to the just reproaches of all civilised nations, particularly of Greeks, in every division of the world.[86] At the taking of Agrigentum by the consul Lævinus, the riches and elegancies of that city, the second in the island, were ransacked with equal avidity, and carefully transported to Rome. Lævinus afterwards gained six other cities by assault, twenty by treachery, and forty by voluntary surrender.[87] The whole island thus fell under the dominion of Rome;

[85] Suidas.

[86] Plutarch in Marcell. Conf. Polybius, l. ix. c. 10. & Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 40. l. xxvi. c. 30. & 31.

[87] Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 40.

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and though its various communities were treated differently, according to their several deserts, yet the justice administered to all of them appears to have been measured on a rigid scale. In what had formed the proper kingdom of Hieron, the regulations of that wise prince were upheld respecting tillage, tithes, and other matters of rural œconomy, because none more profitable could be devised[88]; and the fertile Sicily, long the seat of arts, arms, and tumultuary liberty, sunk into a peaceful farm, cultivated chiefly for the benefit of the Romans, and of which, besides the remittance of a heavy land-tax, much of the superfluous produce was annually transported to feed their voracious capital.[89]

War in Spain. Olymp. cxlii. 1.—cxliii. 2. B.C. 212—207.

The success of the Romans in the conquest of Syracuse, was balanced by contemporary and very disastrous events in Spain. The Scipios, Publius and Cneius, having separated their forces too widely, and being deserted by their Spanish auxiliaries, were in the space of one month successively cut off, with a great proportion of their respective armies. But the officers, who had commanded under them, especially Lucius Martius, a young Roman, endowed with talents far beyond his years or his rank, collected the

[88] Cicero in Verrem, l. ii. De Jurisdic. Siciliens & l. iii. Oratio Frumentaria.

[89] Strabo, l. vi. p. 273. Among the exports of Sicily he mentions corn, cattle, hides, wool, honey, saffron. Sicily must always have been mainly a pastoral country, and was, in this view, considered as highly valuable by the Romans. The "scriptura," or revenue from pasture-land and cattle, was an object of great importance. Cicero in Verr. ii. 69. & Attic. v. 15.

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scattered legions, and made head against the enemy[90], until the arrival in Spain, as proconsul, of the son of Publius Scipio. This new general, who bore also the name of Publius, assumed the command at the age of twenty-four: seven years before this time he had saved his father's life in the battle of Ticinus: his talents, civil as well as military, were of the highest cast; his zeal for the public service, his integrity, and magnanimity surpassed the glory of his talents. The Romans were inclined to regard his character with a superstitious reverence; and Scipio too well knew the influence of such prepossessions, not to employ fit means to confirm them, and to establish himself in the public mind as the peculiar favourite of heaven, destined to retrieve the misfortunes of his family, and to extend the renown of his country.[91] His first exploit was the capture of New Carthage; and success thenceforward attended him for the space of ten years, till his victory over Hannibal in Africa gloriously terminated the war.

Scipio Africanus.

Asdrubal passes into Italy. Defeated and slain. Olymp. cxliii. 2. B. C. 207.

Disappointed in his succours from Carthage, and deceived in those promised from king Philip, Hannibal looked with anxious expectation towards his brother Asdrubal, in Spain. For seven years Asdrubal was prevented from gratifying his hopes by the brothers Publius and Cneius; but in the fourth year after the son of Publius had assumed the command, Asdrubal marched through Gaul into Italy, and having passed the

[90] Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 37. et seq. [91] Ibid. l. xxvi. c. 18. et seq.

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Po and the Rubicon, sent advices to Hannibal to join him in Umbria. His messenger was intercepted; and the consul Nero, then encamped against Hannibal in Apulia, had the address to deceive that admired general, to depart secretly with a select band, to proceed 250 miles northward to join his colleague Livius in Umbria, and, on the Metaurus, to cut off Asdrubal with his whole army, before Hannibal was aware of the departure of 6000 foot and 1000 horse from lines opposite to his own. Nero[92] marched back into Apulia, carrying with him the terror of a battle as bloody as that of Cannæ. At sight of his brother Asdrubal's head, Hannibal acknowledged with a sigh the sad destiny of Carthage. He quickly moved into the country of the Brutii, and contracted the few confederates that remained to him into that remote corner.[93]

Scipio's victories in Spain. He prepares to pass into Africa. Olymp. cxliii. 4. B.C. 205.

After the departure of Asdrubal from Spain, Scipio defeated four divisions of the Carthaginians, and successively expelled them from that country. The last division left it under Mago[94], also son to Hamilcar, and not unworthy of his father and brothers. He escaped to the Balearic isles, from thence sailed to Genoa, and collected an army of Gauls and Ligurians; with these he fought the pretor Quintius Varius near Milan, but was badly wounded, and obliged to retreat to the sea-coast. In the bay

[92] Well might Horace exclaim,
Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus, &c. Carmin. iv. 4.

[93] Polybius, l. xi. c. 7. l. xv. c. 1. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 41. et seq.

[94] Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 15.

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of Genoa, he found Carthaginian vessels bringing orders both to himself and to Hannibal, that they should return to the defence of their country.[95] The pressing necessities of Carthage required indeed this measure. Scipio, after driving the enemy from Spain, had been elected consul, and sailed into Sicily with Africa for his province.[96] His lieutenant Lælius had been sent to ravage the coast of Carthage, and to excite defection among the allies or subjects of that state; Masinissa, the Numidian, having already, amidst the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, revolted to Scipio in Spain.

Sails thither. Olymp. cxliv. 1. B. C. 204.

After employing the whole year of his consulship in preparations, wonderfully facilitated by the alacrity of all ranks of men both in Sicily and Italy, Scipio passed into Africa with 400 transports, escorted by 50 galleys.[97] He became master of all the open country: he besieged Tunes and Utica, bastions, as it were, on either side of Carthage: Syphax[98], rival to Masinissa, was his prisoner; and the flower of the Numidians, long the best auxiliaries to Carthage, now received orders from the proconsul.

Hannibal comes to the defence of

Under these circumstances, Hannibal arrived at Hadrumetum[99], eighty miles south of Tunes. His brother Mago, while on the voyage home-

95 Polybius, l. xiv. c. 9. Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 18, 19.

96 Id. l. xxviii. c. 45. 97 Id. l. xxix. c. 24. et seq.

98 He was king of the Masæsylians; Masinissa, of the Massylians. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxviii. 17. xxix. 32. xxx. 11.

99 Polybius, l. xv. c. 5.

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Carthage. His measures. Olymp. cxliv. 2. B. C. 203.

ward, died at sea of his wound. Hannibal, finding the country round Carthage occupied by enemies, marched westward towards the river Bagradas. Scipio, apprised of his arrival, did not think it expedient to prosecute his attack against places on the seacoast. He therefore proceeded southward to offer battle to the enemy, now encamped near Zama, about sixty miles inland from Hadrumetum. By this time Hannibal had drawn to him the remains of vanquished armies, and all the forces that could be spared from any of the besieged cities. Besides his veterans from Italy, whose horses however he was obliged to leave behind him for want of transports, his standard was followed by that wide variety of nations, which distinguished the service of a people supplied chiefly by mercenaries. They consisted of Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, Moors, and tribes of Numidians hostile to Masinissa.[100] Throughout the whole of the present war, the Carthaginians had avoided to meet the Romans at sea. Their cowardice on this element, long propitious to their ancestors, prevented all co-operation between them and their Macedonian ally. But Philip, having now with much labour created a fleet of his own, had sent to them 4000 soldiers. This reinforcement, however, which afterwards cost Philip so dear, left them far inferior to the enemy in strength as well as spirit. While Scipio was on the march to Zama, Hannibal

[100] Polybius, l. xv. c. 3.

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dispatched three spies, who were detected and brought to the Roman camp. The general desired every thing to be shown to them at much leisure, and then dismissed them under a safe conduct to make report to their employer.[101] The generosity of this proceeding made Hannibal desire a conference. Scipio consented; and for this purpose drew nearer the enemy, to a place called Nadagara[102], a very advantageous post, abounding in fresh water. Hannibal brought his army within three miles of him[103]: the conference was useless: both parties prepared for battle on the adjacent plain.

Battle of Zama. Olymp. cxliv. 3. B. C. 202.

Hannibal, inferior in other respects, had above eighty elephants, which he placed in his van, that their resistless strength and wild impetuous movements might disturb the Roman ranks. His army was drawn up in three lines, with cavalry, in which he was weak, on the wings. The first line contained the different bodies of mercenaries above enumerated; the second consisted of the domestic forces of Carthage; the third, in which he chiefly confided, of the veterans brought with him from Italy.[194] Scipio's men also formed in three lines; the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii: his cavalry was disposed on the wings; the right commanded by Masinissa, the left by Lælius. But in order to provide against any confusion in his order of battle, that might be occasioned

[101] Tit. Liv. l. 30. c. 29.

[102] Otherwise called Naraggara.

[103] Polyb. l. xv. c. 6.

[104] Ibid. c. 8. et seq.

by the enemy's elephants, he did not draw up his van in a full line, but in cohorts separated at wide intervals from each other [105]; his second and third lines were also provided with intervals corresponding with those in the front of the army. His men being thus arranged, not according to the chequer order [106] usual with the Romans, but by rank and file, in direct backstanding, the elephants, he expected, would find their way, without doing much harm, through the avenues left open for them. The battle began by desultory skirmishes of Numidian horsemen. The elephants were then brought forward, and being galled and enraged by the *Velites*, disposed in the intervals of the cohorts, either pursued these skirmishers to the rear of the Roman army, or were carried towards the extremities of their own line, where they produced much disorder among the Carthaginian cavalry. At this crisis, Masinissa and Lælius made their attack, and put to rout the squadrons by whom they were respectively opposed. Meanwhile Hannibal brought forward his first and second lines. The Romans advanced slowly and silently to meet them. Within a due distance, both armies raised a shout; that, on the

[105] Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat, sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes, ut esset spatium, quo elephanti hostium accepti nihil ordines turbarent. Tit. Liv. xxx. 33.

[106] Καθαπερ εθος εςι τοις Ρωμαιοις, (Polyb. xv. c. 9.) may be referred either to the chequer order of maniples or of soldiers. I take it in the latter sense, for the reasons given above, c. xii. p. 385.

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side of the Carthaginians, confused and heterogeneous; that of the Romans in according sounds, loud and terrible. The mercenaries, however, fought strenuously, but entirely unaided by the Carthaginians behind them, whereas the Principes of the Romans were always at hand, to support their Hastati, or first ranks. The mercenaries, being thus obliged to give way, turned their arms on the cowardly Carthaginians. The Carthaginians, now driven to despair, were seized with a frantic rage, and exerted themselves with a boldness, or rather ferocity, altogether unusual to them, both against their own mercenaries and the Romans. At length, repelled by superior force, they hoped to be received into the line of veterans which Hannibal had kept in reserve; but the veterans presented to them the points of their spears, so that most of them perished before they could escape to the wings. Scipio, on this occasion, as the ground, slippery with mud and gore, was interrupted with broken armour and heaps of carcases, and his ranks considerably disordered, commanded his Hastati to close to the centre, and his Principes and Triarii to gain the flanks, and form with the Hastati in one continued line. In this order, an obstinate battle commenced with the veterans, the issue of which was not decided until the return of Masinissa and Lælius, who having defeated and dispersed the enemy's cavalry, now assailed in flank and rear, and totally de-

stroyed, Hannibal's last resource.[107] He escaped with a few horsemen to Hadrumetum, and being recalled to Carthage, declared the war at an end.

Peace—its conditions.

The Carthaginians consented to every condition imposed on them. Already divested of possession, they now abandoned all right to Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, or any other foreign conquest. Even on their own continent, they bound themselves by oaths and hostages not to take arms without permission from the Romans. They surrendered all their galleys, ten only excepted; and had the mortification to see 500 armed vessels burnt by Scipio's order. By a clause of less importance, they surrendered also their elephants, and promised no longer to train those fierce animals for war: they agreed at the same time to pay 10,000 talents, at the rate of 200 talents yearly. The first payment being immediately exacted, the senate of Carthage was in tears. Hannibal laughed aloud; and being reproved for his indecency, asked what could be more ridiculous than men bewailing their money, after the loss of their ships, arms, and independence.[108]

107 Polybius, l. xv. c. 9—16.

108 Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 44

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The Etolians and Acarnanians endeavour respectively to gain the Lacedæmonians. — Manly Resolution of the Acarnanians saves their Country. — Philip defeats the Proconsul Sulpicius. — His Bravery in the Battle of Elis. — False Report of his Death. — Philopœmen's Return to Achaia. — His Character and Victories. — Philip's Exertions against the Romans and King Attalus. — Disappointed by the Carthaginians. — Machanidas Tyrant of Sparta. — Battle of Mantinæa. — Prosperity of the Achæan League. — Philip's Alliance with Antiochus. — Sea-fight off Casysté. — Philip's Conquests in Caria. — Destruction of Abydus.

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Transition to the events in Greece, contemporary with the second Punic war.

THE transactions of the Greeks, contemporary with the Hannibalic war[1], are too important to be considered as an under-plot. Philip, the chief enemy to Rome beyond the Hadriatic, light and inconsiderate as he was, excites interest by his activity and spirit, his enterprise in prosperity, his resolution in adverse fortune. His allies, the Achæans, boasted in Philopœmen a name not eclipsed by that of Marcellus or Scipio. Philip's first opponents the Etolians, Elians, and Lacedæmonians, presented, even in those latter times of Greece, many highly characteristic scenes, flowing from indelible peculiarities in

[1] Ὁ Αννιβιακος πολεμος. Polyb. i. 3. ii. 37. iii. 1. vi. 51. & Appian, Αννιβιακ. . vii. 228.

their national education and manners; and the adversaries whom his injustice afterwards stirred up against him, I mean Attalus and the Rhodians, enjoyed solid and fair pre-eminences, far surpassing the blood-stained splendour of mere military triumphs. This portion of history forms, besides, a natural prelude to the first Macedonian war, from the commencement of which, Rome was engaged in a perpetual series of hostilities or negociations with the different members of that empire, until, in the space of thirty-four years, she gained a decided ascendency over the nations on this side the Euphrates; and having first taught them to obey her as allies, in the course of the following century, reduced the whole of them into dependent provinces, or tributary kingdoms.

The Acarnanians and Etolians endeavour respectively to gain the Lacedæmonians. Olymp. cxlii. 2. B. C. 211.

The alliance that had been concluded between the Romans and Etolians, opened to the former, the convenient harbour of Naupactus, on the Corinthian gulph. Hostilities commenced from this quarter, by taking Œneadæ in Acarnania, and Anticyra in Locris. The houses and lands, according to a compact subsisting between the confederates, became the property of the Etolians: all things moveable, including the persons of the vanquished, belonged as booty to the Romans.[2] Meanwhile the Acarnanians sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, in hopes of preventing its co-operation with barbarous invaders. The Etolians sent to the same place to confirm the

They plead their respective causes before the Lacedæ-

[2] Polybius, l. xi. c. 6. Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 24.

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monian assembly.

Lacedæmonians in their engagements. Both ambassadors, Chlainias on the part of the Etolians, and Lyciscus on that of the Acarnanians, pleaded at great length before the Lacedæmonian assembly; and, in their speeches, gave opposite and equally unfair views of Grecian history. According to the Etolian, the kings of Macedon, from Philip, the father of Alexander, downwards, had always been relentless foes to Greece; hostile to its liberty and glory, and cruel persecutors of every citizen zealous to maintain these enjoyments. The forbearance of Antigonus Doson, in sparing the freedom, and even the dignity of Sparta, when conquered in a just war, Chlainias ascribed to motives altogether unworthy of so excellent a prince; "but whatever might be thought by others of that specious lenity, the Lacedæmonians had clearly shown that they were not its dupes, having taken arms against the successor of Antigonus in the social war. Since that time what had happened to inspire them with more favourable dispositions towards Macedon?" Lyciscus replied ably and warmly, by contrasting the glorious exploits of Philip and his immortal son, with the mean predatory expeditions of the Etolians. He passed slightly over the reigns of Cassander, Demetrius, and Antigonus Gonatas, but dwelt with complacence on the mildness and magnanimity of Antigonus Doson, to whom the Spartans owed the privilege, now exercised by them, of deliberating in free assemblies. Philip, the present king, he observed, had been desirous of treading in the

footsteps of his illustrious predecessor; it was matter of deep regret, that the Lacedæmonians had ever opposed his views; but, though they had done this formerly, they ought not again to repeat and aggravate their error; for the circumstances were greatly changed by the confederacy of the Etolians with a more formidable foreign enemy, now louring like a cloud in the west; which would first burst on Macedon, and next overwhelm Greece. He adjured the Lacedæmonians, by the glorious death of Leonidas, and the magnanimous defiance of the great king, by their ancestors, not to take party with the Etolians and the barbarous invaders by whom they were abetted.[3] We are not informed of the immediate decision of the assembly; but the Lacedæmonians, shortly afterwards, espoused the less honourable cause.

Manly resolutions of the Acarnanians, by which they save their country. Olymp. cxlii. 2. B.C. 211.

The inroads to which Macedon was always liable on its northern frontier, having recalled Philip to the defence of his kingdom, the Etolians determined to seize the opportunity of prosecuting their success in Acarnania. Their preparations greatly alarmed the Acarnanians, who knew what they had to expect from the jealousy of the worst of neighbours, and the rage of the fiercest of enemies. Successive messengers were sent to hasten Philip's return: application was made to the Achæans and Epirots; but the dreadful apprehensions of the Acarnanians appeared chiefly in their domestic measures. Their

3 Polybius, l. ix. c. 28. et seq.

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women, children, and helpless old men were sent to neighbouring strong-holds in Epirus. All males in their country, from the age of fifteen to sixty, were commanded to take arms, and to bind themselves by oath, either to conquer or die. The most horrible imprecations were denounced against all who shunned the enemy, and all who might be tempted, by any false notions of humanity, to receive such cowards into their communion. This firm decree, together with the arrival of Philip in Thessaly, prevented, for the present, the Etolian invasion.[4]

Philip takes Echinus.

To punish that people for the terror with which they had alarmed ancient and most faithful allies to his family, Philip soon after formed the siege of Echinus, a city on the Malian gulph. The place was well fortified, and contained a considerable garrison; with which the Romans co-operated by sea, and Dorimachus, the Etolian pretor, by land. But Philip repelled these enemies from his camp, and prosecuted the siege in a manner worthy of the descendant of Poliorcetes. His engines threw stones of thirty and sixty pounds weight, until the besieged were driven from their works, and compelled to surrender at discretion.[5]

Progress of Attalus king of Pergamus. Olymp. cxlii. 3. B. C. 210.

Besides gratifying his passion for sieges, Philip had another motive for occupying Echinus. From the moment that he began to form a naval force, Attalus, king of Pergamus, naturally became his rival. That prince, who in an able

[4] Polybius, l. ix. c. 40 Conf. xvi. 22.

[5] Polyb. ix. 41.

reign of thirty years had lost no opportunity of augmenting his diminutive territories, was warmly courted by the Etolians, and invested by them with the pretorship, in conjunction with their countryman Pyrrhias, who, in the absence of his royal colleague, exercised alone the functions of that office. By seizing the harbour of Echinus, directly opposite to the coast of Pergamus, and in the neighbourhood of other Etolian strong-holds, Attalus would have been in a condition powerfully to assist his new allies. Shortly afterwards, he sailed for that purpose to Ægina, and meanwhile aided them with some forces in Thessaly; the proconsul Sulpicius, who had succeeded Valerius in the command of the Roman fleet, sent them also a thousand of his men, as an earnest of more effectual succour.

Philip's success against the Etolians and Romans. Olymp. cxliii. 1. B.C. 208.

Against Pyrrhias the Etolian pretor, thus reinforced by splendid allies, Philip fought successfully in Thessaly, until he drove his enemies from the field, and compelled them to take refuge within the strong walls of Lamia. From thence, for the sake of foraging, he proceeded to Phalara, on the Malian gulph, and was there met by the same ambassadors from Rhodes and Egypt, who had been so zealous in mediating the former peace. Philip assured them, that he would be always willing to treat on reasonable terms. He named a time when an assembly of the Achæans would meet to hear the proposals of their enemies; and immediately granted a month's truce to the Etolians. As he appre-

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hended that Attalus might land on Eubœa, he reinforced his garrisons in that island, and proceeded southward with his cavalry and light infantry to Argos, that republic having chosen him to preside in their Heræan and Nemean games. After solemnising the first of these festivals, he proceeded to the Achæan assembly at Ægium. The Rhodians and Egyptians were present: they employed the arguments for peace urged on former occasions; but the Etolians having just learned, that Attalus and the Romans had respectively sailed to Ægina and Naupactus, became more intractable than ever. Philip rejected their unwarrantable demands, especially after the recent success of his arms, and rejoiced in an opportunity of throwing on them the odium of the war, in presence of the ambassadors. Having left part of his army to protect the Achæans, threatened on one side by the Etolians, and on the other by Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, he dissolved the assembly of Ægium, and returned to Argos, to celebrate the Nemean games: but that pleasing solemnity was quickly interrupted by intelligence that the proconsul Sulpicius had sailed from Naupactus, and was committing dreadful ravages in the fertile territory[6] between Corinth and Sicyon. Philip hastened with his cavalry to oppose him, ordering his infantry to follow with all possible expedition. Sulpicius was attacked, defeated, and driven disgracefully to his ships.[7]

[6] Agrum nobilissimæ fertilitatis. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 31.
[7] Id. ibid.

His profligacy during the Nemean games.

The fame of this exploit brightened the remainder of the festivity, during which Philip divested himself of his diadem and purple, and mingled in every scene of amusement with the familiarity and freedom of a private citizen. But unfortunately, this vain show of equality was accompanied by the worst acts of unbridled power. The tyrant added murder to adultery in the case of the younger Aratus, whom he called his friend; he gave unrestrained career to his fierce[8] voluptuousness at Argos, to the disgrace and affliction of that ancient commonwealth, from which the kings of Macedon derived their descent.

His campaign in Elis, and personal bravery. Olymp. cxliii. 1. B. C. 208.

The games had no sooner terminated, than Philip undertook an expedition against the Elians, steady allies to the Etolians, and whose capital, Elis, was actually garrisoned by troops of that nation. He marched against the city in hopes of provoking to battle a people highly susceptible of irritation. He was not disappointed in this particular; but felt no small surprise at beholding Roman arms and eagles glittering amidst the ranks of the Elians and Etolians. The proconsul Sulpicius had sailed to Cyllené, and secretly thrown himself into Elis with four thousand soldiers. Philip would have declined the engagement, but it was no longer time to retreat either with honour or safety. He fought bravely at the head of his

[8] Polybius, l. x. c. 26. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 51. & Plutarch in Arato.

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cavalry, till his horse was killed by a pilum, and then continued to combat on foot amidst the hostile squadrons, until he received protection from his men, and, being placed on a fresh horse, was conveyed from the field. The advantage gained over him could not have been considerable, since he encamped at the distance of only five miles from Elis, and next day committed great depredations[9] on the territory.

False report of his death. Invasion of Macedon. Olymp. cxliii. 1. B.C. 208.

Soon afterwards, alarming news were brought to him from Macedon. A report of his death being credited among the Barbarians, his northern and western frontiers were a prey to invaders. The false rumour arose from an incident in the late expedition, in which he had defeated the Romans and pursued them to their ships. The impetuosity of his horse, carrying him against a tree, one of the wings of his helmet was broken off in the shock. The fragment, adorned with the king's arms, had been carried to Scerdilaidas in Illyricum; and, through the artifices of that adversary, converted into a sure proof of the king's death, and a resistless excitement to the invasion of his dominions. Philip flew to their defence, having left little more than two thousand men for the protection of his allies.[10]

Philopœmen returns from Crete, and is entrusted with the command of

His sudden departure, at this crisis of the war, might have been fatal to the Achæans, had not the military arrangements of that people lately undergone an important change. Cycliadas, then pretor, was not distinguished by any

[9] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii c. 32.

[10] Id. ibid.

pre-eminence of courage or ability; but the command of the horse, which was the second place in the army, had been conferred on Philopœmen, whose presence of mind and penetration, a dozen years before this period, had decided the famous battle of Sellasia. During this long interval, he had resided chiefly in Crete, and taken share in the incessant wars among the petty states in that island, which served as a nursery of men fertile in resources and bold in stratagem, whom we continually meet with fighting, on opposite sides, in all the wars of Alexander's successors. Philopœmen had learned every thing from the Cretans but the vices for which they were branded. His œconomy contemned riches, his spirit detested a lie; few loved their country more warmly, and fewer in time of war were better qualified to serve it. As a soldier, he united theory with practice. The different treatises on tactics were familiar to him; but he delighted, above all, in the military historians of Alexander. That conqueror, he perceived, had rendered the phalanx, which was imperfect in itself, a complete and resistless instrument of war, by the improvement of its accompanying cavalry. Philopœmen set himself to imitate this accomplished model, and to infuse new emulation and energy into the corps which he commanded.[11] The fame which he had acquired before leaving Peloponnesus, made him the fre-

the Achæan cavalry.

His proceedings for improving it. Olymp. cxlii. 4. B. C. 209.

[11] Polybius, l. x. c. 25. l. xi. c. 8. et seq. Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28. & Plutarch in Philopœmen.

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quent subject of discourse among his countrymen. His return, which had been long looked for, was a matter of public joy. He was received with a degree of fond partiality bordering on enthusiasm; and the qualities of his mind and body were peculiarly well calculated for confirming this favourable disposition. In the vigour of manhood, his well-adjusted frame displayed the utmost measure of strength consistent with agility.. Frankness, simplicity, and dignity, were announced in his aspect; and with the skill of a great general, continual exercise in arms had enabled him to combine, in real war, such alertness and dexterity, as surpassed the wonderous feats exhibited at the martial sports of Olympia. The authority acquired by his talents was cautiously upheld: he was a man of few words[12]; every opinion that he gave was well weighed; and every promise that he made, might be firmly relied on. Such was Philopœmen, and such the character which he was zealous to stamp on his followers. The expensive finery employed by the young Achæans in their dress and personal accommodations, he taught them to confine to their horses and armour: their vanity itself was thus enlisted in the service of their country; and through the martial ardour which he inspired, his squadrons, in the course of a few months, were brought to per-

[12] He considered long speeches as the greatest impediment to affairs, remembering the answer of the Athenian when asked what what had ruined his republick: "Provenere adolescentuli oratores." Cicero. Fragm. & Plutarch in Philopœmen.

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form the most intricate evolutions with the precision of a single body actuated by a single mind.'[13]

His victories over the Elians and Etolians. Olymp. cxliii. 1. B.C. 208.

Shortly after the departure of Philip from Peloponnesus, the Achæans were called to defend their possessions and their freedom against the Etolians and Elians. They defeated the enemy in two great battles, the description of which has not come down to us. The first was fought on the banks of the river Larissus, which separates Elis from Achaia. In this action, Philopœmen slew with his own hand Demophantus who commanded the enemy's cavalry, and who had advanced before the ranks to challenge him to single combat. The second victory, still more important, was gained in the neighbourhood of Messené.[14]

Philip's exertions against the Romans and their allies. Olymp. cxliii. 2. B.C. 207.

Philip, having repelled the Barbarians from his northern frontier, descended early in the spring to Demetrias in Thessaly. The Achæans, indeed, had, through the abilities of Philopœmen, prevailed over the enemy in Peloponnesus; but the allies beyond the isthmus; the Acarnanians, Phocians, Thessalians, as well as the islands of Eubœa and Peparathus, were threatened both by the Etolians and by the proconsul Sulpicius, who, together with king Attalus and their combined fleets, had wintered at Ægina, to the annoyance and impoverishment of that small island, itself a mere rock in the Saronic

[13] Conf. Plutarch in Philop. & Polyb. l. xi. c. 8. et seq.

[14] Plutarch in Philopœm.

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gulph, but hitherto regarded as a wonder of industry and opulence. Philip threw fresh garrisons into the places on the coast most likely to be attacked, and, that he might the more seasonably resist the enemy's descents, caused provisions to be made for signals by fire [15] on the mountains of Phocis, in Peparathus, and in Eubœa. He himself erected a signal-house to correspond with them, on mount Tisæus, in Thessaly. This precaution saved not Oreum in Eubœa, which Plator, its governor, treacherously surrendered to the Romans, but it enabled Philip seasonably to reinforce the more important city Chalcis. Through the same expedient he was apprised that Attalus had made a predatory descent on Opus; he flew to its protection, and avenged the insult to Opus, by taking some Etolian strong-holds in its neighbourhood. [16] Philip's fleet being still imperfectly equipped, he ventured not to cope with the enemy by sea, but made ample amends by land, though fortune often intercepted the fruits of his diligence. It was thus, when the Etolians held a council at Heraclæa-Trychinia in order to deliberate with their Roman and Pergamenian allies, that, after a march of extraordinary celerity, he was disappointed by a few hours in seizing his adversaries in full congress. He was anticipated by nearly as short an interval, in a hasty expedition against

His signals by fire.

[15] Polybius does not explain these signals particularly, but nothing can surpass in simplicity the mode of making signals by fire proposed by himself, l. x. c. 43—46.

[16] Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 7.

Machanidas tyrant of Lacedæmon, who, after long and strenuous preparations, had taken the field in Peloponnesus. His affairs, however, were on the whole prosperous, especially after Attalus crossed into Asia through fear of his neighbour Prusias I. of Bithynia. About this time, Philip repaired to Ægium to meet the Achæan deputies. He expected also to find in that harbour a Carthaginian squadron, which being joined to the ships recently equipped by himself, would have enabled him to try a sea-fight with the Romans, then at Ægina. But the Carthaginians, having learned that Attalus and Sulpicius had at once set sail, feared to be intercepted by them in the Corinthian gulph. They quitted therefore that inland sea, and proceeded to the friendly harbours of Acarnania.

Disappointed in his hopes from a Carthaginian fleet. Olymp. cxliii. 2. B. C. 207.

This disappointment hindered not Philip from addressing the Achæans in a speech full of alacrity and hope. He attested gods and men, that his vigilance had watched, and endeavoured to turn to profit, every circumstance of time or place; and that he had spared no march, however, fatiguing, that promised to bring him to action with the enemy. But the swiftness of their flight had, hitherto, eluded his own celerity in pursuit. They thus acknowledged, however, that to be defeated they needed only to be encountered. He trusted that the time was at hand, when the event itself would be as fatal to them, as their apprehensions of it were fearful.[17]

His speech to the Achæan deputies. Olymp. cxliii. 2. B.C. 207.

[17] Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 8.

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His Thracian and Illyrian war.

Shortly after the dissolution of this assembly, Philip's affairs recalled him to Macedon. But with the ships already collected by him, he first made a predatory expedition across the Corinthian gulph to the coast of Etolia. The spoil was sent to Ægium under Nicias the Achæan pretor. Philip sailed to Corinth, and sending his army through Bœotia into Thessaly, visited Eubœa, to reward the fidelity of Chalcis, and to punish the cowardice of Oreum. At his return to Macedon, he caused the keels of an hundred ships of war to be laid at Cassandria. While this preparation was making against Attalus and the Romans, he marched to chastise the Thracian and Illyrian tribes most troublesome on his mountainous frontier.

Preparations for the battle of Mantinæa.

While Philip was detained in this barbarous warfare, the Achæans were left unaided to contend against the Etolians, Elians, Messenians; above all, the Lacedæmonians, invigorated by the dreadful energies of Machanidas their fierce military tyrant. Through arts similar to those of Dionysius and Agathocles, Machanidas now grasped in his own hand the property of the public and of each individual; he had collected large bodies of mercenaries, and provided vast trains of catapults to be used in the field as well as in sieges. The first stages of the campaign are not related; history records only its closing scene, the death of the tyrant and the glory of Philopœmen in the second [18] battle of

[18] The first was fought by Epaminondas, a hundred and fifty-five years before. See History of Ancient Greece, Part I. c. xviii.

Mantinæa. That general had conducted thither almost the whole domestic troops of the Achæans, infantry and cavalry; together with a large body of mercenaries consisting in light-armed foot, and that kind of desultory horse called Tarentines[19], from the nature of their arms and disposition. Machanidas and the Spartans took post first at Tegea, twelve miles directly south of Mantinæa, and nearly at an equal distance from the Lacedæmonian frontier. In the hopes of either taking Mantinæa, or of bringing Philopœmen to a decisive engagement in its defence, the tyrant marched at day-break in three columns, the phalanx headed by himself in the middle, and his light-armed troops and mercenaries on either side of it, and parallel to each other. The carriages bearing his engines followed behind. In the road to Mantinæa, and about a mile from its walls, a ravine bordered the plain two miles broad, and terminating on either hand in hills; those on the east were adorned by a temple of Neptune. Upon the enemy's approach, Philopœmen's troops issued from three gates of Mantinæa to defend the ravine. His Tarentines and light infantry advanced along the road leading to the temple of Neptune, and occupied the foot of the hills and partly the hills them-

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[19] These Tarentines belonged not to Tarentum in Italy, a republic long dissolved in luxury, and, 60 years before this time, deprived of liberty. The "Tarentini" denoted a particular kind of troops, not a particular people; from which the verb, ταραντινιζειν, as Eustathius observes, ελεγετο, το την ενοπλιαν και εις μαχας χρησιμον ἱππηλασιαν ποιεισθαι. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieget.

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selves, near the eastern extremity of the plain. Before these troops, he posted the targeteers and Illyrians. The phalanx followed on the right of the targeteers, forming the centre of the army. The Achæan cavalry composed the right wing. Machanidas, as he advanced, made a show of attacking this right wing at the head of his column; but, before he had proceeded beyond the point where it would have been no longer safe in presence of an enemy to change his line of march into an order of battle, his light troops and mercenaries on the right posted themselves, by a rapid movement, opposite to those of Philopœmen; at the same time the phalanx, marching by its flank, seized the ground facing the phalanx of the enemy; and the cavalry on the left appeared in opposition to the right wing of the Achæans; so that the two armies were now drawn up parallel to each other on opposite sides of the ravine.[20]

Second battle of Mantinæa. Olymp. cxliii. 2. B. C. 207.

When things were in this posture, Machanidas's line at once opened in various parts, through which issued his vast train of catapults, with men dextrous in working them. Philopœmen then perceived that his adversary had been well aware of the obstacle between the two armies, and meant not to pass it until he had thrown the Achæans into confusion by that unusual mode of war, of which Alexander had made such effectual use against the Thracians in passing the Danube, and against the Scy-

[20] Polybius, l. xi. c. 11—18.

thians in passing the Jaxartes.[21] To interrupt the play of the enemy's machines, Philopœmen darted across the ravine at the head of his swift Tarentines; they were followed by his light infantry. Machanidas opposed these troops by his own mercenaries, consisting of the same kind of soldiers. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued, in which the mercenaries of the tyrant defeated those of the republic[22]; and Machanidas, at the head of the victors, pursued the flying enemy to the gates of Mantinæa. Philopœmen, after vainly attempting to restrain their flight, took post at the head of his phalanx, which had been drawn up in two lines, divided by intervals into sections of sixteen files each, and the intervals of the second line corresponding with the sections of the foremost. By a rapid movement to the left, he filled up with the nearest of these sections, the space left empty by the flight of his mercenaries, at the same time ordering Polybius[23], uncle to the historian of that name, to collect as many of the latter as had not been carried along in the rout,

[21] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 4.

[22] There are clear reasons according to Polybius, why this should often happen. The mercenaries of tyrants are ruined by defeat: the mercenaries of republics may often be ruined by too decided a victory, since they are employed only through necessity. l. xi. c. 13.

[23] This famous battle was fought Olymp. cxliii. 2.; and in the Olymp. cxlix. 4. that is, 26 years afterwards, Polybius the historian was still too young for bearing public honours. Fragment. Legat. l. lvii. Notwithstanding which, the French translator by an *elegant change* of persons in Polybius's narrative, says, " Il m'ordonna aussi de rallier."

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and therewith to strengthen his left. By this seasonable movement, Philopœmen gained the advantage which Machanidas had rashly thrown away. He had it in his power to attack the Lacedæmonians in flank, while they advanced impetuously, elated with the success of their mercenaries. Their career was not stopped by the ravine; but their emergence from it was the critical moment, watched by Philopœmen, for charging them. The advantage of the ground decided the battle; many Lacedæmonians fell by the well-levelled points of the Achæan spears; and many perished in the ditch, trampled down by each other. The same skilful evolution, which enabled Philopœmen to out-flank the enemy, intercepted the junction of Machanidas with his disbanded infantry. When the tyrant came back from his ill-judged pursuit, he was forsaken by all but two horsemen, with whom he rode furiously along the ravine, hoping in some part to force his passage. Philopœmen espied him at a distance, for he was conspicuous by his purple and the trappings of his horse, and outstripping him in a parallel course on the opposite bank, encountered his desperate bound with the butt-end of his spear, and then turning the weapon, stabbed him with its point; thus illustrating the lessons of equestrian exercise in real action.[24] The Lacedæmonians lost above eight thousand men killed or taken. The city

Its consequences.

[24] Πληγην αλλην εκ διαληψεως. This last term, as we learn from Hesychius, is palæstric: its import is not clearly explained.

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of Tegea, towards which the remainder fled, received promiscuously the fugitives and their pursuers, but readily submitted to the latter when they showed the bloody head of the tyrant. The Achæans, shortly after, encamped on the banks of the Eurotas, and ravaged, without opposition, the richest districts in Laconia. Except the single city of Sparta, the whole country lay at their mercy. Sparta, which had long boasted her contempt for walls, now owed her safety to these defences, which had been raised and strengthened by successive usurpers; and which, at this juncture, afforded an opportunity to Nabis, a tyrant more ruthless than Machanidas himself, to seize and long [25] wield his bloody sceptre.

Highest prosperity of the Achæan league. Olymp. cxliii. 3, 4. B. C. 206—205.

Meanwhile, Philip was occupied on his northern frontier; and the Romans having to oppose both Hannibal and Asdrubal in Italy, made but feeble efforts beyond the Hadriatic. Delivered at once from the presence of a formidable enemy and an overwhelming ally, the Achæans had free scope for displaying their prowess and love of liberty; for performing great achievements, and for acquiring immortal renown. A republic, established on principles the most equitable and liberal, once more stood at the head of Greece, and produced a sort of aftermath spring in that country, not unworthy of the harvest of glory which had preceded. The Achæan league was in its highest bloom during the two years which followed the defeat of Ma-

[25] Fourteen years. Tit. Liv. Conf. l. xxix. c. 12. & l. xxxv. c. 35.

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chanidas. It had begun to flourish forty years before that event, under the guidance of Aratus; and forty years after Philopœmen's victory at Mantinæa, Achaia and the rest of Greece were buried under the rigours of an eternal winter. Sameness of situation producing a similarity of manners and sentiments, the Achæans and their allies exhibited during this memorable period, the enthusiasm inspired by valour exerted in defence of those inestimable benefits which genuine freedom always carries in her train. Shortly after the destruction of an odious and fierce tyrant, the Achæan pretor joined in the celebration of the Nemean games, devoted equally to the display of bodily and mental acquirements. From directing the martial exercises of his companions, he proceeded to hear and judge the musical compositions, and happened to enter the theatre as Pylades, a favourite performer, sung the following lines from "the Persians" of Timotheus:

> 'Tis he that makes our cities gay,
> And crowns them with bright liberty.

Instantly all eyes were turned on Philopœmen [26], and the voice of grateful admiration associated his renown with the kindred glories of Cimon and Miltiades.

Philip makes peace with the Etolians.

When Philip returned into Greece, he found his Achæan allies every where triumphant, and the most inveterate of their enemies heartily tired of the war. For reasons, which will after-

[26] Plutarch in Philopœm.

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wards appear, he likewise desired its termination. A peace therefore was hastily concluded between himself and the Etolians, each party also contracting in the name of its confederates.[27] This negociation was scarcely finished, when the Romans, who, for upwards of two years, had abandoned their allies beyond the Hadriatic, crossed that sea with thirty-five ships of war, carrying ten thousand infantry, and a thousand horse. The proconsul Sempronius, who commanded this armament, having learned with much indignation that the Etolians had adjusted their differences without consulting the Roman senate, sent his lieutenant Lætorius with nearly one-half of his forces to the Etolian harbour Naupactus, to examine correctly the state of affairs, and, if possible, to disturb the peace. Meanwhile the proconsul himself made a descent on the coast of Illyricum, and infested Philip's dependancies in that country. The king of Macedon hastened to the aid of his allies, and having obliged the Romans to shut themselves up in Apollonia, marched to that place, and endeavoured without effect to provoke the enemy to battle. For this purpose, he ravaged the Apollonian territory; but ventured not to assault the city: his thoughts being turned to peace, he wished not by destroying Apollonia, to widen the breach between himself and the Romans, and render it perhaps irreparable.

Olymp. cxliii. 4. B.C. 205.

And with the Romans.

The Epirots, now sunk into weakness and

[27] Tit. Liv. l. xxix. c. 12.

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Olymp. cxli. 4. B.C. 205.

cowardice by division into a number of petty states, chiefly dependent on Macedon, also laboured to reconcile Philip and Sempronius. The proconsul, when he perceived all his machinations for again involving the Etolians in the quarrel to be fruitless, and reflected on the maxim of the Romans, never to carry on war in any country, where they had not powerful and zealous allies, consented to an interview with the king, in Phœnicé, a city of Epirus. Here a truce was concluded for two months: and articles of peace were proposed, subject to the approval or rejection of the Roman tribes, all of which unanimously accepted them. By this treaty[28] the Romans adjusted with Philip their interests in some obscure districts in Illyricum, and obtained security for their ally Pleuratus, now the greatest native prince in that country. In the same negociation were included their confederates, Attalus king of Pergamus, Nabis tyrant of the Lacedæmonians; the republics of the Elians, Messenians, and Athenians. Philip also specified his allies as parties to the treaty; namely, Prusias king of Bithynia, his son-in-law: the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. None of these states purchased peace by any important sacrifice; the thoughts of the Romans were fixed on Carthage, and vast prospects in the East made Philip anxious for domestic tranquillity.

[28] Tit. Liv. l. xxix. c. 12.

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Partition treaty between Philip and Antiochus against Ptolemy Epiphanes. Olymp. cxliv. 2. B. C. 203.

Shortly before the termination of hostilities, Antiochus had returned to Syria from his triumphant expedition into Upper Asia, and Ptolemy Philopator had closed his inglorious reign in Egypt, leaving for his successor a child only five years old. Antiochus and Philip were both in the vigour of life: their natural ambition was heightened by prosperity: Antiochus was at the head of an army supposed the greatest in the world, and Philip had by this time equipped a very considerable fleet. It consisted of about two hundred sail, and contained many vessels of such magnitude that trireme galleys were scarcely thought worthy to fight in his line. Between princes thus prepared for action, and devoid of all scruples to restrain their rapacity, an alliance was formed for invading by sea and land the dominions of young Ptolemy, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, and for guaranteeing to each other their respective conquests.[29]

Their success in this project.

Conformably to this project, unsupported by any reason, uncloaked even by the slightest pretence, Antiochus entered Cœle-Syria and Palæstine; and, in the course of two campaigns, made himself master of those countries. Philip expelled the Egyptian garrisons from Ænos and Maronea, possessions long held by the Ptolemies on the southern coast of Thrace; seized Thasos, Samos, Chios, and the more considerable of the islands called Cyclades; conquered several seaports on the coast of Caria; and, in order to

[29] Polybius, l. xv. c. 20.

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facilitate his designs against other maritime provinces in Asia Minor, directed his arms against the rich and well-fortified cities commanding the narrow seas which divide that peninsula from Europe. Lysimachia, Chalcedon, and other places of less note successively submitted to his arms. He crossed the Propontis and laid siege to Cius [30], situate at the eastern extremity of that sea; a commercial republic which had manfully maintained its independence against the kings of Bithynia, its nearest and most formidable neighbours. Here, he was resisted with a degree of obstinacy which he had not elsewhere encountered. The persevering valour of the Cianians exasperated the fierceness of Philip. He disdained the intercession of neighbouring cities and isles in behalf of the besieged: to the interposition of the Rhodians, indeed, whose fleet rendered them formidable, he paid more regard, sending to them assurances that, in compliance with their desire, he intended not to treat Cius with any uncommon severity. But while his ambassador harangued on this subject in the theatre at Rhodes, and expatiated before the assembled multitude on the magnanimity and mildness of his master, messengers arrived with the sad news, that Cius had been taken and plundered, and the whole inhabitants either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity. [31]

Philip's treacherous acquisition of Cius. Olymp. cxliv. 2. B. C. 203.

[30] The Propontis stretches two arms into Asia; the Cianian bay deriving its name from Cius, and the bay of Astakus, distinguished by the city Astakus and by Nicomedia, successive capitals of Bithynia. See above, vol. ii. p. 245.

[31] Polybius, l. xv. c. 22, 23.

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Philip's war with Attalus and the Rhodians. Olymp. cxliv. 3. B. C. 202.

From this time the Rhodians, perceiving that war was inevitable, would no longer hear the name of Philip mentioned in their assemblies. The kingdom of Pergamus lay near the scene of Philip's cruelties, and was provided with a considerable fleet in the harbour of Elæa. With equal spirit and good policy, Attalus, though far advanced in life, prepared to assume in person the command of his ships, and to join them with those of the Rhodians. But before this junction was effected, Philip, stimulated by the impetuosity of his temper, invaded the territory of Pergamus. In this sudden irruption, he trusted to the assistance of Xeuxis, who governed Lydia for his ally Antiochus. Xeuxis, however, wished not to aggrandise Philip in the neighbourhood of his own satrapy, so that having fruitlessly assaulted the walls of Pergamus, the king of Macedon returned to his ships, after he had heightened the odium in which he was held by burning the Nicephorium, a consecrated grove, containing many elegant temples.[32] The grove had been planted and the temples built by king Eumenes, the father of Attalus, to adorn the neighbourhood of his capital. Philip not only demolished these sacred edifices, but broke in pieces the vast blocks of marble composing them, that they might never be repaired. He also invaded the plain of Thebé, the site, anciently, of the opulent city of that name, celebrated by Homer, as "the sacred city of Aëtion[33];" and

[32] Polybius, l. xvi. c. 1.

[33] Iliad. l. i. v. 366.

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justly so denominated, since it was one of those emporiums or staples, where, as formerly explained, trade was safely carried on under the protection of common and propitious gods.

Sea-fight off Casysté. Olymp. cxliv. 3. B. C. 202.

By this aggression on the part of Philip, a war, chiefly maritime, commenced on the coasts and islands of Asia, while the Romans, intent on employing their main strength in Africa, were not at leisure to interfere in the affairs of the East. By the exertions of the confederates, Philip was checked in his career of conquest, and obliged to fight two great battles at sea, of which the whole honour was claimed for the Rhodians, by the partial patriotism of their historians Zeno and Antisthenes, but of which, according to less exceptionable testimony [34], the glory was divided, and the success doubtful. The first of these engagements was fought in the narrow sea between Chios and the shores of Erythræ; and the particulars of it are related with such circumstantial minuteness, as throws much light on the naval transactions of antiquity. Philip was employed in besieging, by sea and land, an unnamed Ionian city, most probably Erythræ itself, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to its relief with sixty-five decked vessels, all exceeding in size the ordinary rate of trireme galleys. Philip had left part of his fleet to be equipped at Samos, which island he had recently conquered from the Egyptians, and was carrying

[34] The letters written by the Admirals immediately after the action, and preserved among the archives of Rhodes. Polybius, l. xvi. c. 9. & 15.

on the siege with fifty-tree large ships, reinforced by a hundred and fifty long boats and undecked triremes. As he had begun to raise walls and sink mines against the place, and as his naval armament was fully equal to their own, Attalus and the Rhodian commanders, who well knew his obstinacy, doubted not that he would persevere in the siege, and therefore anchored at no great distance, until they perceived a fair opportunity for combat. But Philip, whose works had proceeded slower than expectation, came to the resolution of putting suddenly to sea, and sailing southward to Samos. His course was steered close to the Asian coast: Attalus, who had anchored nearest, immediately gave chace; and, through the vigorous exertion of his rowers, reached the foremost division of the enemy. In his own ship he attacked an octireme, and by a fortunate stroke below water, sent her to the bottom. Without waiting farther signal, the other ships made haste to engage. A Macedonian vessel, carrying ten banks of oars, and commanded by Democrates, Philip's admiral, incautiously shocked with a bireme that had ventured under its prow: the bireme stuck fast in the enemy's hulk, and thereby impeding its movements, exposed it to be attacked on both sides, and sunk with all the men on board. Dinocrates and Dionysidorus, two brothers commanding under Attalus, had accidents of a different kind. Dinocrates, in engaging a Macedonian octireme, received a stroke above water, and returned it with such dexterity and force on the lower part

CHAP. of the enemy's ship, while her prow was elevated, that his own beak could not again be extracted, until Attalus bore down upon the octireme, and separated the two ships by the violence of his shock. The octireme was taken empty, her crew having wholly perished in battle. Dionysidorus, in assaulting an enemy's septireme, unfortunately missed his aim, and bared his own ship of her oars. The crash was heightened by the falling of her lofty engines: she sunk with all on board, except the captain and two others, who escaped by swimming to a friendly bireme. By this time the Rhodians, commanded by Theophiliscus, had attacked the rear division of the enemy. When the action engaged front to front, they maintained their usual superiority; for, by dexterously depressing their own prows, they received unimportant damage, while they occasioned irreparable breaches to their enemies, by striking them in the parts below water. But as the Macedonians fought bravely from their decks, hand to hand, the Rhodians avoided as much as possible to persevere in a close engagement. They chose rather to dart through the adverse squadrons, breaking off their tiers of oars, and assaulting, as opportunity occurred, sometimes their sterns, sometimes their sides, with a view either to pierce those weak parts, or to carry off the projecting machinery essential to their manœuvres. In the battle, there were properly two distinct actions; for that part of the Macedonians which turned to support their hindmost ships against the Rhodians, had approached the

isle of Chios, whereas the other division, engaged with Attalus combated near the coast of Asia. Philip, during all this time, had remained at a small intermediate island [35]: in this situation he watched the progress of the battle, until the following occurrence determined him personally to engage in it. A quinquereme belonging to the enemy, having separated too widely from her companions, was attacked by a Macedonian ship of greater force, and in danger of being sunk. King Attalus, who observed the unequal combat, hastened to give assistance with two quadriremes, one of which was the royal galley, bearing those gorgeous implements of ostentation and vanity, with which Asiatic princes were usually accompanied in all warlike expeditions. At the approach of the two hostile vessels, the Macedonian captain betook himself to flight. Attalus pursued him with too much eagerness, and thereby exposed himself to be intercepted from his own fleet by Philip, who in the critical moment darted with a small squadron from his harbour. The king of Pergamus, to avoid falling into the hands of his adversary, endeavoured to run his ship on the coast of Erythræ; and when Philip's foremost vessels were on the point of boarding him, his presence of mind suggested the following stratagem for eluding their grasp: He caused the showy appendages above mentioned, his purple vestments and golden goblets,

[35] There are here some small islands between Chios and the coast of Erythræ, called ἵπποι, the "horses." Strabo, l. xiv. p. 644.

to be carried on deck and displayed before the eager eyes of his pursuers. Intent only on rifling these precious effects, they neglected to secure the person of the king, who thus escaped to the friendly city of Erythræ. Philip by this time approached, and causing the royal galley of Attalus to be fastened to his own, sailed back into the open sea, collected his scattered ships, and encouraged the whole fleet with shouts of victory. Dionysidorus, Attalus's admiral, thinking his master irrecoverably lost, gave signal to his fleet to make the nearest ports of Asia. At the same time the Macedonians, who on the other side of the battle had greatly suffered from the Rhodians, were glad to cease from combat, and rejoin their king; while the Rhodians, having tied the enemy's captured ships to their own, made sail for Chios. Philip claimed the victory on two accounts; first, because he had defeated Attalus, and captured the admiral galley; and secondly, because immediately after the battle, he anchored on the very scene of action, that is, the bay washing the walls of Casysté [36], better known under its modern name of Tchesmé, where the Russian admiral Spiritoff, in 1770, by means of his fire-ships, destroyed the whole Turkish fleet.

Its consequences.

Next day, in further proof of victory, Philip endeavoured to recover the bodies of his slain. When he was thus employed, the enemy sailed

[36] Το καλȣμενον αργεννον. Polybius, l. xvi. c. 17., that is, Cape Blanc, the white promontory, which protects on the south the harbour of Tchesmé.

from the harbour of Chios, offering to renew the engagement. He did not think proper to accept the challenge, for in performing his present melancholy duty, he had perceived the whole coast strewed with Macedonian bodies. His loss had exceeded six thousand sailors and three thousand marines, whereas that of the enemy was inconsiderable. This disproportion arose from the great number of his small vessels, many of which had been run down, and their crews drowned; a misfortune which could not happen on the other side, because the Rhodians and Attalus fought chiefly in galleys exceeding the ordinary rate: they brought only nine biremes and three triremes to the engagement. Philip, besides, had lost twenty-four of his largest ships, and two thousand seven hundred of his men had fallen into the hands of the enemy. His force, therefore, was diminished by the number of nearly twelve thousand. Attalus lost four ships; the Rhodians, three; but the loss most grievous to these islanders was that of their admiral Theophiliscus, who having merited the double praise of skill and valour, died next day of wounds received in consequence of the following emergency. A Rhodian ship struck her adversary so forcibly, that she left her beak in the breach: the wounded vessel sunk, but the Rhodian also began to fill with water. Theophiliscus hastened to her relief: and, obstinate in his endeavour to save her, was surrounded on all sides by enemies. His dexterity disengaged him at the price of three wounds, which disabled his body, but only

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rendered his mind more ardent in subsequent scenes of the battle. Before his death, he wrote an account of the action to his country, and named provisionally a successor. The Rhodians confirmed this appointment, and decreed to his memory honours calculated to inspire distant posterity with patriotism and true valour.[37]

Philip's conquests in Caria. Olymp. cxliv. 3. B. C. 202.

Had the Romans been at leisure strenuously to co-operate with their allies, the battle of Casysté might have proved fatal to Philip. But that sea-fight happened about the same time with the famous victory at Zama in Africa, which terminated the second Punic war; and the king of Macedon was not prevented by the loss of twenty-four large ships and twelve thousand men, from carrying on his operations against the Asiatic coast. Shortly after, we find him besieging the city Prinassus, in Caria, of which he made himself master by a stratagem. From the hardness of the ground on which Prinassus stood, his miners made not the expected progress. Philip, however, ordered the work to be continued with noise and bustle in the day, and in the secresy of night caused earth to be carried from a distance, and piled up in vast mounds, indicating the extension of his mines many hundred feet in length. He then summoned the inhabitants to surrender, on pain of having their city laid in ruins, by the withdrawing of his props. The terror of this event produced a capitulation.[38]

Stormy weather obliged Philip to winter in

[37] Polybius, xvi. 9. [38] Ibid. c. 11.

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Caria. During this season he made himself master of Iassus, Euromus, and several other free cities, as well as of the maritime district Peræa, directly opposite to Rhodes, and long subject to that island. Notwithstanding these conquests, his army was often in great want of provisions. Neither threats nor promises could induce the husbandmen of Caria to furnish a regular market. There was little resource in Zeuxis, the jealous satrap of Lydia. The Macedonians, to relieve their wants, plundered Alabanda: they failed in attempting similar violence against Mylasia. The people of Magnesia, to whom they applied, assured them that they had not any corn to spare, but sent to them a large supply of figs, desiring however, in return for this present, that Philip would give them possession of the ancient city of Myus, of which he had just made himself master. The king, strange to tell! complied with their request, thus bartering, for some cargoes of Magnesian figs, the once respected capital of an independent republic.[39]

Proceedings of Attalus and the Rhodians. Olymp. cxliv. 4. B.C. 201.

Soon after the battle of Casysté, Attalus and the Rhodians repaired their shattered ships in the harbours of Chios. They were quickly in a condition to fight Philip at sea, had the season of the year admitted of naval operations; but as they dreaded to encounter the Macedonian veterans by land, they allowed that prince to infest, without opposition, their allies or subjects

[39] Polybius, l. xvi. c. 24.

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in Caria, and to secure in that province his conquests of Peræa, Iassus, Prinassus, and Bargylia. To compensate for the losses sustained on that side, they wrested from Philip several islands and strong-holds near the narrow seas; they threw garrisons into those maritime cities of Asia which were most likely to be attacked, and which it was of most importance to defend; they pressed Rome for assistance by repeated embassies; and they occupied such stations with their ships, as might afford them the best opportunity of intercepting their adversary on his return to Macedon.

Roman embassies to their eastern allies. Olymp. cxliv. 4. B. C. 201.

By this time the Romans, having ended the second Punic war, and reduced Carthage to the state of a dependent tributary, began to direct their most serious attention to the affairs of the East. Immediately after the battle of Zama, they sent an embassy to Egypt, to renew their friendly correspondence with Aristomenes the Acarnanian, guardian of young Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes. The main object of this mission, which had orders to visit other eastern states, was to assure the court of Alexandria, that the Romans would not overlook the injuries committed by Philip and Antiochus against the Egyptians, their allies, who had been honourably known to them in that character ever since the glorious reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and from whose seasonable generosity, Italy had been succoured in the moment of its greatest exigency, the desolating ravages of the Hannibalic war. Shortly after this mission to Egypt,

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other embassies were deputed to Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians; in a word, to all those states which were named as Roman allies in the peace recently concluded with Philip.

Superstitious cruelty of the Athenians exposes them to Philip's resentment.

The Roman ambassadors sent to Athens arrived there at a moment peculiarly critical. While far distant provinces were involved in the calamities of war through Philip's ambition, the Athenians, amidst general tranquillity in Greece, had exposed themselves to the resentment of that prince by an execrable act of cruelty.[40] During the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres, two Acarnanian youths, travelling in Attica, unwarily strayed into the temple of Eleusis. By the ignorant questions which they put concerning what passed before them, they betrayed themselves as persons uninitiated, and were led before the presidents of the temple to answer for their rash impiety. Upon examination of their transgression, it fully appeared that their entrance into the temple at a forbidden time, had been a matter of mere accident; yet, by the merciless voice of superstition, they were condemned to death, and consigned to immediate execution. This odious event kindled a war between the Athenians and Acarnanians. Philip, as protector of the latter, took part in their quarrel, and, while that prince ravaged Caria in person, his general Nicanor laid waste Attica.

They are protected

Nicanor had carried his depredations to the

[40] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 16.

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by Attalus and the Rhodians.

suburbs of Athens, when the Roman ambassadors arrived in the Piræus. At the same time Attalus and the Rhodians, having failed in their endeavour to intercept Philip's return to Macedon, sailed to the island of Ægina[41], and cast anchor there in a harbour scarcely thirty miles distant from Athens. The threats of the Roman ambassadors, and still more, the powerful armament in his neighbourhood, made Nicanor desist from hostilities, and consent to withdraw from Attica. While the Macedonians evacuated that territory, Attalus and the commanders of the Rhodian fleet hastened into the Piræus, and were received by the Athenians as the saviours of their republic. As they proceeded from the harbour to the city, not only the members of the government, but the whole body of the people, came forth to meet them; the priests and priestesses were arranged on both sides of the way, and every temple was thrown open, as if the gods themselves had desired to testify respect for those illustrious strangers. The first day of their arrival in the Piræus had, however, been entirely dedicated to the ambassadors of Rome, with whom they had important arrangements to make; and when the Athenians invited Attalus to an assembly of the people, that judicious prince, to avoid the noisy acclamations and fulsome honours of the multitude, preferred, as more decent and more dignified, to transact the business by writing. He comme-

[41] Conf. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 15. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 14.

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morated former services to Athens, made mention of his recent successes against Philip, and exhorted the assembly to seize the present opportunity of uniting against the common enemy with himself, the Rhodians, and the Romans. This letter was heard with the utmost extravagance of popular applause; war against Macedon was declared with every refinement of superstitious formality; and such immoderate honours were heaped on king Attalus and the Rhodians, as could either be suggested by the example of Athenian flattery on former occasions, or devised by the inventions of men, still growing from age to age more shameless. In a magnificent pageant, the typified people of Rhodes were crowned with new and ingenious emblems of victory; and to the ten tribes of Athens an eleventh, called the tribe of Attalus, was added, that the name of this illustrious benefactor might rank with the consecrated founders of the Athenian commonwealth.[42]

Endeavours of Attalus and the Romans to stir up new enemies to Philip.

Having concluded the affairs of Athens so much to his satisfaction, Attalus returned to Ægina, and the Rhodians sailed to the Cyclades, nine of which they received into their alliance; the remaining three, Andros, Paros, and Cythnus, were too strongly guarded by the Macedonians. During Attalus's stay at Ægina, his emissaries were sent to the Etolians, and to all other states formerly leagued against Philip. Negociations with these communities, particu-

[42] Polybius, l. xvi. 25. et. seq. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxxi. c. 15.

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larly the Etolians, occupied much time, and proved ultimately fruitless. They considered Philip's power as too formidable, readily to engage in new hostilities against him. The Roman ambassadors, also, applied not only to the Etolians at Naupactus, but to the Achæans at Ægium: they travelled to Phœnicé in Epirus, and to Athamania, a warlike district on the western frontier of that country. The object of all these journeys was to stir up new enemies to the king of Macedon.

His spirited exertions. Olymp. cxliv. 4. B. C. 201

While Philip's adversaries negociated, that prince was in the field. Instead of being intimidated by the threats of a Roman war, the increase of danger only roused his energies.[43] Having appointed Philocles to succeed Nicanor and renew ravages in Attica, he ordered his fleet to the narrow seas, and hastened to co-operate with it there, at the head of a well-appointed army. In that important quarter, he speedily recovered the places which he had lost, and added to them many others; Cypsela, Doriscus, Callipolis, Madytos, Alepeconnesus, Serrheum, and Sestus. But the siege of Abydus detained him long, and was attended with an ever-memorable issue.

Desperate resistance of Abydus. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B. C. 200.

This city, standing opposite to Sestus, commanded on the side of Asia the Dardanelles, or shortest passage across the Hellespont, and was an acquisition essential to Philip for completing his plan of conquest. He besieged it vigorously by sea and land. But his floating

[43] Polybius, l. xvi. c. 28.

batteries, which he brought to bear against its walls, were resisted efficaciously by engines and ignited weapons. On the side of the land, his miners brought down the outer wall; the besieged, however, had raised a new wall behind it: when this also was threatened with demolition, the Abydenians sent two of their citizens, Pantagnotus and Pythiades, to propose the following terms of capitulation: — That the troops belonging to Attalus and the Rhodians, who had co-operated in their defence, should retire in safety with their arms and effects; and that all Abydenians of free condition should leave the city with their garments only. Philip sternly rejected these terms, calculated to melt the most obdurate heart; and answered, that they must either defend themselves like men, or submit unconditionally. Upon the return of their deputies with this dreadful message, the magistrates of Abydus assembled in council. They determined no longer to waste the strength of the citizens in attempting to countermine the enemy. Their women were sent into the temple of Diana; the children, assembled in the gymnasium; their money and precious effects were collected in heaps, so as to be destroyed in a moment by fire, or thrown into the sea; the men of a military age then mounted the wall, bound under terrible imprecations, either to preserve it entire, or to perish in the breach. An oath still more tremendous was imposed on the old men who staid behind; that, if their fellow-citizens were overpowered, they should imme-

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diately butcher the women and children. On the part of the warriors, their desperate resolution was carried into full effect. They fought with the rage of lions rather than of men; for, when their weapons were broken or blunted, they sprung on the Macedonians with collected strength, and grappled with them in mad transports of fury, until they forced from them their spears and javelins. Their resistance continued till, most of them being slain, darkness made Philip recal his men from the carnage.[44]

Before morning, the old men, instead of performing the more atrocious part assigned them in this horrid tragedy, sent the priests and priestesses in their holy vestments to surrender the city, and implore the mercy of the conqueror. Philip arrived in time to save the treasures, which the Abydenians in case of defeat had prepared for swift destruction: but he was too late for seizing the captives and dragging them into slavery; for the citizens who survived the assault, exclaiming that their brave companions had been betrayed through perjury, flew to the massacre of their women, children, and fathers; and then plunged into their own breasts the weapons still reeking with kindred blood. Philip turned from this scene with disgust, unmixed with commiseration, saying unfeelingly, that he granted three days to the Abydenians to complete their butchery. He then placed a garrison in a post made desolate, but highly important by its situation.

44 Polybius, l. xvi. c. 29. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 17.

Such was the catastrophe of Abydus, a city which had long flourished in arts, industry, and commerce. Its narrow sea connected Europe and Asia, as the Strait of Gibraltar does Africa and Europe; but the historian who has described its unhappy destiny, observes, that the passage of the Hellespont, only two furlongs broad, compared with the Strait of Gibraltar about twice that number of leagues, seems to have been formed by the hand of nature, not only with some regard to the proportion between the Mediterranean and Atlantic, but also with a view to facilitate the infinitely more active intercourse which prevailed along the shores of the former. The busy traffic and perpetual navigation between Abydus and the coast of Thrace, formed, he observes, a striking contrast with the gloom and deadness, which surrounded the pillars of Hercules.[45]

Strait of Abydus contrasted with that between the pillars of Hercules.

While the fate of Abydus still hung in suspense, Emilius Lepidus, one of the Roman ambassadors formerly sent to Egypt, and the youngest of the number, came to Philip's camp and desired an audience of the king. To his remonstrances against making war on the allies of Rome, Philip begun a studied answer, the purport of which was to prove that Attalus and the Rhodians, allies of Rome, had themselves been the aggressors. As he dwelt on this topic, Emilius, interrupting him, asked, "But were the Cianians also the aggressors, or what injury had

Philip's altercation with Emilius Lepidus.

[45] Polybius, l. xvi. c. 29.

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you received from the citizens of Abydus?" Philip, unused to such rudeness, replied, "There are three circumstances, Emilius! that tend to extenuate your ill-breeding: first, the inexperience of youth; secondly, your very handsome figure; and thirdly, the insolence congenial to the Roman character. But return to your country and tell the Romans, that I wish them to remain faithful to the treaties subsisting between us; if not, by the help of the gods! I will uphold the glory of the Macedonian name, a name not inferior to that of Roman."[46] The siege of Abydus was hardly ended, when Philip received intelligence that the consul Sulpicius Galba had crossed the Hadriatic even in the end of autumn, and purposed to winter his fleet in Corcyra and his army in Apollonia. The Romans thus commenced the first Macedonian war[47], only a few months after they had made peace with Carthage.

[46] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 18. Conf. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 32.

[47] The hostilities preceding the late treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, Olymp. cxliii. 4. B. C. 205., brought neither advantage nor honour to the latter; for which reason chiefly, historians devoted to Rome, have not dignified them with the name of *war*.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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State of Greece and Macedon at the Commencement of the first Macedonian War. — Surprise of Chalcis. — Ravages of Attica. — Philopœmen's successful Stratagem against Nabis. — Romans invade Epirus. — Sulpicius's and Villius's indecisive Campaigns against Philip. — His successes. — His maritime Possessions attacked by Attalus and the Rhodians. — His imposing Attitude on Mount Æropus. — Quintius Flamininus takes the Field against him. — Thessaly ravaged by four Armies. — Romans baffled before Atrax. — Singular Bravery of 500 *Achæan Youths. — Magnanimity of the Acarnanians. — Quintius's Surprise of Thebes. — Death of Attalus. — Battle of Kynoscephalæ.*

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Causes of the Macedonian war. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B. C. 200.

THE Romans had just grounds for war with Philip of Macedon. That prince had injured their allies and assisted their enemies. Four thousand of his troops had been made prisoners, while they sustained, in the battle of Zama, the declining cause of Carthage. He was at war with Attalus king of Pergamus, with the Rhodians, and with the Athenians, all of them confederates of Rome; and he had, in part, fulfilled his iniquitous treaty with Antiochus the Great, for dividing between them the rich inheritance of Ptolemy Epiphanes, a prince whom the Romans, in consideration of his youth and the merit of his great ancestor Ptolemy Philadel-

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phus, affected to treat with the regard due to a dear hereditary friend; instead of the cold name of ally, honouring him with the more affectionate appellation of pupil.[1] But, notwithstanding this distinguished title, and the strong remonstrances of his tutors or protectors, Epiphanes had been stripped by Philip of his possessions in Caria and in Thrace, while Antiochus had dismembered Egypt of the valuable provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. In this state of affairs the consul Sulpicius Galba crossed the Hadriatic with a powerful fleet, and an army consisting partly of veterans who had served with distinguished glory in Spain and in Africa.

State of Macedon and Greece at that period. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B.C. 200.

Philip having occupied Abydus, was then on his return from the Hellespont to his central strong-hold of Demetrias in Thessaly. Hitherto, he had maintained against all his enemies an equality at sea, and a decided superiority by land. The ancient and proper Macedon was guarded by impracticable fastnesses, hardy soldiers, and hereditary renown. He had greatly extended it on the side both of Thrace and Illyricum; and towards his southern frontier, such was his hold of Greece, and such the condition of that country, as flattered him with strong hopes of maintaining his authority there against every invader. Of the nine states beyond the Isthmus, he was master of the fertile Thessaly, and had humbled the warlike Etolia. The Acarnanians, in the dangerous neighbour-

[1] Justin, l. xxx. c. 3.

hood of Etolia, regarded Philip as their protector: his general Philocles was ravaging the territory of Attica; Bœotia averted hostility only by the poverty and contempt into which it had long sunk; and Macedonian garrisons overawed the four rocky districts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara. At the entrance of the Peloponnesus, Philip held the important city of Corinth, which, together with Chalcis in Eubœa, and Demetrias in Thessaly, he called the three fetters of Greece. Of the other states belonging to that peninsula, five composed the Achæan league. Sparta pursued a course still peculiar to herself, but as dishonourable in later times as it anciently had been glorious. Actuated by inveterate jealousy of Macedon and Achaia, and torn by domestic factions, the Lacedæmonians had destroyed their kings of the race of Hercules, and together with them all those distinctions and institutions most venerable in their country. A succession of military adventurers, remarkable for abilities and boldness, had usurped the government, at once the creatures and the tyrants of a sanguinary multitude. Nabis, the last of these tyrants, had now ruled six years. He had murdered or banished all men of worth and property whom his predecessors had left in the territory, and divided not only their estates, but their wives and families, among his mercenary partisans. His throne was upheld by emancipated slaves, unprincipled Cretans, and by a conflux of criminals and fugitives from all parts of Greece, in most of

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which he had his spies and agents. Yet, odious and cruel as he was, a robber abroad and a tyrant at home, the Romans avowed him for their ally, because his activity and energy formed a balance in Peloponnesus to the Achæan league, long confederate with Macedon.[2]

Views of the consul Sulpicius.—His lieutenant Centho's celerity in surprising Chalcis Olymp. cxlv. 1. B. C. 200.

The consul Sulpicius had purposed to winter with his fleet at Corcyra, and his army in Apollonia. During the inactive season, he hoped to gain by negociation, or intimidate by his arms, the inland Illyrian tribes, through whose mountainous territories he intended to march early in the spring, into the heart of Macedon and Thessaly. But he had scarcely landed on the coast, when Athenian ambassadors arrived, imploring that, without delay, he would deliver their country from depredation and their capital from a siege. The Rhodians had sent a small squadron for their protection; troops, in the pay of Attalus, reinforced the garrison of Athens; there was a considerable body of mercenaries in the pay of the republic; yet so fatally had the Athenians degenerated from their ancient prowess, that all these succours could not enable him to repel inroads on the sides of Corinth and Megara, and more ruinous naval descents from Chalcis in Eubœa. The consul therefore listened to their request; and commanded Claudius Centho, with twenty trireme galleys, carrying a strong detachment of soldiers, to sail to the Piræus. With this

[2] Polybius, l. xv. & xvi. passim.

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force, Centho did not think it enough to act on the defensive; an opportunity occurred for executing, in the way of aggression, an enterprise of great spirit. Some deserters from Chalcis informed him of the careless manner in which that city was guarded, though it commanded the narrow Euripus, a passage as important by sea, as Thermopylæ once was by land; and though Chalcis was Philip's arsenal, his granary, and his state-prison. Upon this intelligence, Centho sailed from the Piræus, and lay concealed in the day-time on the western side of Cape Sunium. When it was dark, he doubled that southern promontory of Attica; and by such vigorous plying of his oars in a calm sea, as will appear incredible to modern seamen, surprised Chalcis, about seventy miles distant, before morning. The gates were forced open; all citizens in arms, and many unarmed, were put to the sword. The market-place was set on fire. The flames extended to the storehouses of corn, and to the magazines of arms and engines. The prisoners confined by Philip were released; his statues, thrown down and mutilated; and the Romans, weary with destroying, returned loaded with booty to their ships.[3]

Philip's similar design against Athens.

Philip speedily learned the arrival of the enemy in Eubœa, by fire-signals distributed through his posts of observation. He hastened from Demetrias with five thousand light infantry, and a proportionable body of horse, in hopes of

3 Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 22, 23.

CHAP. XVIII. saving his arsenal, or of taking vengeance on its destroyers. But the Romans had already departed: he came only in time to behold the smoking ruins of Chalcis. This mortifying event did not rob him of his presence of mind. From his early youth he had now reigned twenty years, and as his character had gradually sunk in virtue, it should seem to have risen in energy; in activity not to be tired out, in promptness of decision and boldness of enterprise. Without hesitating a moment, he proceeded across a bridge of boats on the Euripus, and advanced at the head of his army towards Athens, with the rapidity of a practised racer. Yet, swiftly as he marched, his speed was outstripped by one of those whom the Greeks called day-runners[4], who, descrying the Macedonians from his watch-tower, seasonably alarmed the Athenians. Philip arrived a few hours after, and still before day-break. He could behold lights carrying in different directions, and perceive the commotion of the troops belonging to Attalus, of the mercenaries in the pay of Athens, above all, of the frightened townsmen. But he found the walls completely manned, and the gates strongly guarded. Having thus failed in his design of surprise, he allowed his men a short time for rest; and, in the morning, led them against the northern gate called Dipylos, with a view to try whether he could force his entrance. Philip hated the Athenians above all other Greeks;

[4] Ἡμεροδρομοι.

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and the animosity, as appeared on this occasion, was reciprocal. The gate Dipylos was far larger than any other: spacious streets connected it with the forum; and beyond it, without the city, a wide and well-levelled road led to the principal gymnasium, the famed academy of Plato and his followers. The Athenians with their auxiliaries, after forming within the city, sallied forth from the Dipylos, and occupied part of the space between it and the academy. Their wives, and children, and parents, beheld them from the walls. At this sight Philip was stimulated to new ardour. He spurred forward his horse into the midst of the enemy, calling aloud to his soldiers, that wherever the king was, there ought to be the standards and the army. The Athenians could not resist the onset of his cavalry. He pursued them towards the city gate, wounding many with his own hand. The havoc was greatest at the gate itself, from which the Macedonians, though excluded, made their retreat with little loss, because missile weapons could not be discharged from the towers without pouring destruction promiscuously on friends and foes.

His ravages in Attica, and destruction of works of art. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B. C. 200.

Philip did not renew his attack on the city, whose defenders were multiplied in the course of the day, by the arrival of Romans from the Piræus, and of a reinforcement belonging to Attalus from Ægina. But before his departure for Peloponnesus, on a design that will be explained presently, he wreaked his vengeance on every thing in the neighbourhood of Athens,

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either pleasing by its beauty or venerable for its sanctity. The gymnasiums, Lyceum and Cynosarges, were levelled with the ground; the consecrated groves were set on fire; even the sepulchres of the dead were deformed by the blind impiety of his rage. Shortly afterwards, upon his return from Peloponnesus, he again invaded Attica in concert with his general Philocles, who conducted a reinforcement of two thousand Thracians and Macedonians from Eubœa. In this expedition, after a fruitless attempt against Athens and Eleusis, the ravages of the Athenian territory were still more extensive than formerly. The elegant temples and statues, that adorned the different towns and villages, were demolished; and the stones composing them were broken in pieces, lest their magnitude and fine workmanship should confer a degree of grandeur even on the ruins.[5] This was to wound the Athenians most sensibly; for, notwithstanding the decay of all other kinds of merit among them, the exquisite ingenuity of their artists still shone unrivalled; mount Pentelicus still afforded a profusion of precious marbles; and the Athenians were then, and continued long afterwards, the most vainly superstitious of all mankind.

Philopœmen's successful stratagem against Nabis. Olymp. cxliv. 4. B. C. 201.

The motive that drew Philip into Peloponnesus was, to meet the Achæan council, then sitting at Argos. In the preceding year the Achæans, headed by Philopœmen, had defied Nabis and his mercenaries; and by a well-concerted stratagem

[5] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 24. et seq.

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had considerably diminished the tyrant's formidable power. Philopœmen having computed accurately the distances of all the places belonging to the league from Tegea, sent letters to the several cities most remote from it to the following purport: "Assemble instantly your fighting men; supply them with money and provisions for five days; conduct them to the next city: and, upon your arrival there, deliver the letter, herewith sent, to its pretor." By these orders, communicated from one place to another through all the different routes leading to Tegea, a great force would be collected on the Lacedæmonian frontier, without creating the least suspicion in those spies and gatherers of news, industriously dispersed by Nabis in every part of the country. On the day when the arrival of the Achæans was expected at Tegea, Philopœmen dispatched from that place a select body of light-armed troops, to infest the Lacedæmonian territories, with orders that, when attacked, they should retreat towards Scotita, a town situate between Tegea and Sparta. These troops concealed themselves during the night, and early next day commenced their ravages. Meanwhile the Achæans had gained Tegea, at the expected time. Philopœmen made them take supper at an early hour, and then conducting them towards Scotita, posted them secretly in that neighbourhood. About this time, the inroad of the light troops spread an alarm. Nabis's mercenaries sallied forth in great force, chiefly from Pallené, a city five miles from Sparta, and repelled the invaders with

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their accustomed vigour; but, pursuing them beyond Scotita, were themselves unexpectedly assailed by Philopœmen, and all of them either slain or made prisoners.[6]

Philip endeavours to embroil the Achæans with Rome.

This advantage on the side of the Achæans was counterbalanced by their appointment next year of a new and very unequal pretor. Cycliades, who succeeded Philopœmen, was practised in affairs and knew how to manage popular assemblies; but his military character did not inspire confidence. The Achæan youth reluctantly joined his standard, though some districts had been ravaged, and even some maritime cities endangered by the restless rapacity of Nabis. The Achæans had assembled at Argos to deliberate concerning the best means of raising forces fit to oppose the tyrant, when Philip unexpectedly made his appearance in the council. He told them, that he would remove their difficulty; his army was at hand: he would immediately march into Laconia, and transfer thither the whole terror of the war. His proposal being heard with applause, he added that, while he thus employed his arms for the benefit of Achaia, it was reasonable that they should send part of their youth to reinforce his garrisons in Eubœa and other places beyond the Isthmus. The Achæans perceived his drift: he wanted to involve them as deeply as himself in the war with Rome.[7] Cycliades, though his

[6] Polybius, l. xvi. c. 36. et seq.
[7] Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 25. & Polybius, l. xvi. c. 38.

friend, did not approve this design. He thought it unnecessary, however, to oppose it by any argument; and contented himself with observing, that the Achæan council could not deliberate concerning objects foreign to the cause of its meeting. With this repulse Philip, having engaged a few volunteers in his service, returned to Attica, and after committing the depredations above mentioned in that country, hastened to Macedon in order to oppose the Romans, who threatened his western frontier.

Romans invade Epirus. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B.C. 200.

The consul Sulpicius had left his winter quarters and encamped on the river Apsus, which flows into the Hadriatic sea between Apollonia and Epidamnus, eight miles to the north of the former city. From thence he sent his lieutenant Lucius Apustius to invade the inland districts of Epirus, whose principal towns and castles were held by Macedonian garrisons. Corragos, Gerrunium, and Orgessus were taken by the first assaults. Antipatria, strongly fortified at the entrance of a narrow valley, made an obstinate but unavailing resistance. The men fit to bear arms were put to the sword; and the town, after being plundered of every thing transportable, was burned to the ground. This dreadful example frightened into capitulation Codrion, a strong place in the neighbourhood, into which Apustius threw a garrison. He then took Ilium, an obscure town memorable only for its name. In returning, however, to the consul's camp, the Romans, heavy with booty, were surprised by Athenagoras, one of Philip's gene-

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rals; and their rear guard was thrown into disorder. Apustius rode back at full speed, made his army face about, and put to route the assailants, many of whom fell, and a still greater number surrendered.[8]

Rugged western frontier of Macedon—why the Romans made their attack on that side.

This successful expedition drew to the consul's camp several chieftains of the Illyrian tribes, whose barbarous independence alternately guarded and alarmed the security of Macedon. On the north of that kingdom, they inhabited Dardania, and from the confines of Dardania and mount Scardus, occupied the hilly country running southward above two hundred miles, distinguished in its course by the names Dassaretia[9], Eordia, and Athamania; and, at the mean distance of fifty miles from the Hadriatic, shutting up the western frontiers of Macedon and Thessaly. This rough chain of abrupt hills and intricate valleys, most parts of which were still friendly to Philip, the consul would be obliged to cross before he could seriously distress his adversary. By attacking Macedon on this difficult frontier, the Romans, indeed, should seem to have exposed themselves to the vulgar reproach of seizing the bull by the horns. All the noble cities of that kingdom, enriched by the spoils of nations; Dium, Pella, Edessa, and Philippi, lay on the other side of the country, and near the coasts of the Ægæan. But Philip's southern frontier, particularly the

[8] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 27.

[9] Commonly called Dassaretii, from the tribe inhabiting it. Appian, Illyric.

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delightful region of Chalcidicé, contained garrisons proportional to its importance[10]; and his fleet lay at Demetrias, stationed there against Attalus and the Rhodians, but ready also to cope with the Romans, should they endeavour to make a naval descent on Macedon. Besides this, the Romans, never did by fleets what might be effcted by armies: their sailors dreaded a winter's voyage; and they had not waited the fittest season, in their haste to combat Philip immediately after the defeat of Hannibal. The consul, therefore, moved into the country of the Dassaretii, the northern division of the hilly chain above mentioned, and encamped on the river Bevus.[11] The towns in that neighbourhood either surrendered or were taken; and their copious granaries of corn enabled the Romans to save the provisions which they had carried with them.

Sulpicius's battles with Philip —indecisive campaign. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B. C. 200.

Philip had by this time sent his son Perseus, attended by able officers, to guard the passes from Dardania, and was proceeding in person to defend his western frontier. The trepidation of the Dassaretii, flying in crowds before the invaders, brought him the first news of the enemy. He dispatched some troops of horse on discovery, who encountered a body of Roman cavalry sent on the same errand. The battle between them was sharp but undecisive, and both of them returned to their respective camps without bringing back any important intelli-

[10] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 45. [11] Ibid. c. 33.

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gence. Philip sent immediately to the field of action to recover the bodies of his slain. They were found to the number of forty, and brought for interment to the camp, where their yawning wounds, inflicted by the massy, two-edged, Roman sword, are said to have occasioned a very disheartening sensation.[12] But Philip's army was twenty-four thousand strong, of which four thousand were cavalry. Directed by some deserters, he continued to advance, and seized a strong post at Athacus, which overlooked the Roman camp. Its orderly arrangement struck him as forcibly as it had formerly done Pyrrhus.[13] A combat soon followed between the light troops, in which the Romans, always armed with their shield and buckler, had a decided advantage over the king's irregular skirmishers. Philip also failed in a design for drawing the enemy into an ambush; and, when the consul next day marched from his camp to offer battle, the king thought proper to decline the engagement. Sulpicius, after thus defying his adversary, ventured to decamp to a place called Octoluphus, eight miles distant, for the greater convenience of supplies. To infuse a false security into the Romans, Philip long kept within his rampart; and, when he found that great bodies of them had gone to forage, he sent part of his light troops and cavalry to surprise the stragglers, while the remainder beset the roads leading back to the Roman camp. To prevent any in-

[12] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 24.

[13] See above, vol. ii. p. 424.

telligence from reaching the consul, he ordered his men to give no quarter. These measures succeeded. A great many Romans were surprised, intercepted, and slain; and the advantages gained on these occasions would have been without alloy, had not Philip pursued too eagerly a party of horsemen flying towards their encampment, until they were met and protected by the Roman infantry. The fortune of the day then immediately changed: Philip lost four hundred of his *companions*, and by the fall of his wounded horse, was himself dismounted. But a Macedonian instantly alighted, and throwing him on a sound horse, saved the king's life at the expence of his own. CHAP. XVIII.

Philip sent speedily to the consul to crave a truce for burying the slain; and being told that an answer should be returned in the morning, availed himself of the intermediate time to fly towards difficult mountains, whither the Romans would be unable to follow him, heavily laden as they were with spoil, and their march impeded by elephants, unseasonably carried with them as trophies of their Carthaginian victories. It was the first time that they had employed in war these cumbrous auxiliaries. Philip's purpose was now to harass the enemy in their passage through intricate valleys, by obstructing the defiles, and pouring down missile weapons from the contiguous heights. In this desultory warfare he succeeded so completely, that the consul thought proper to change his line of march. Having retreated with much danger from the

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country of the Dassaretii to that of Eordia, he possessed himself, in the latter, of the two cities Pelium and Celitrum, and garrisoned them as useful posts in succeeding invasions.[14] He then returned to the banks of the Apsus and Apollonia, from whence he had commenced an expedition of great labour and very inadequate success.

Negociations with the Etolians — Philip's success against them.

While the consul moved towards the Hadriatic, the necessity of Philip's affairs carried him in an opposite direction. This movement was occasioned by the restless rapacity of the Etolians, who, while the king fought in Illyricum, had broken into Thessaly. Before the commencement of the campaign, both the consul and Philip had sent ambassadors to this fierce people, and each urged plausible arguments for engaging them on his side. The Athenians also, enraged at Philip's recent proceedings in Attica, dispatched some of their popular orators to arraign the profaner of temples, the disturber of the ashes of the dead, the odious and abominable violator of rites due to supernal and infernal gods. The Etolians admitted the parties to a hearing at their general council of Naupactus; but Democritus, who, as pretor for the year, presided in that assembly, had the address to prevent his countrymen from giving a decisive answer. He evaded the question, by recurring to a law of his republic which restrained the determination of war or peace to the annual

[14] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 36—40.

Pan-Eolian convention at Thermum. It was supposed that he had been bribed by Philip; but he wished only to temporise, that the Etolians, by watching the success of the campaign, might be free to pursue the path likely to be most profitable. Accordingly, after the first important success obtained by the Romans, they prepared to act as their auxiliaries. Six thousand of their warriors, indeed, whose proceedings will be explained hereafter, had recently sailed to Egypt; but they were reinforced by Amynander king of Athamania, the district of Epirus nearest to Thessaly; and the Dardanians, the fiercest of the Illyrian tribes, on the recal of Perseus from the pass of Pelagonia, had invaded the northern frontier of Macedon. Philip sent his general Athenagoras to oppose the Dardanians: he marched in person into Thessaly against the Etolians and Athamanians. His success on both sides was complete.[15]

Attalus and the Rhodians infest Philip's possessions by sea. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B.C. 200.

Meanwhile, with the return of spring, Apustius sailed from Corcyra, and met king Attalus in the Piræus. They were received with enthusiasm by the Athenians, who, individually and in their public decrees, poured out the most fulsome praises on their friends, and the wildest execrations against Philip. The united fleets first attacked the Cyclades, the most important of which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Cythnus made a successful resistance; Andros submitted after a siege; the territory fell under

[15] Tit. Liv. l xxxi. c. 41—43.

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the jurisdiction of Attalus; all transportable booty belonged exclusively to the Romans. It has been the fate of those beautiful islands to suffer at many different and very distant periods the most horrid oppression. Dicæarchus, when he sailed to conquer them for Philip, raised altars to Injustice and Impiety.[16] The Turkish fleet might consistently invoke the same gods, when it sails yearly from Constantinople to the Isles, to extort exorbitant contributions.[17] When the ships of Attalus and the Romans were joined by twenty vessels belonging to the Rhodians, they ventured to attack Philip's important possessions in Chalcidicé and in Eubœa, without fear of the Macedonian squadron stationed at Demetrias. They failed in the assault of Cassandria, which had a powerful garrison: they succeeded against Acanthus in the same Chalcidic region; and they made themselves masters of Oreum in Eubœa, after a vigorous siege. Having terminated these expeditions before the approach of winter, Attalus and the Rhodians sailed to their respective harbours; and the Roman commander, leaving on his way thirty galleys in the Piræus, returned with the remainder of his fleet to Corcyra.[18]

Perturbed state of Philip's affairs — his minister He-

The winter, which relieved others from labour and anxiety, brought no relief of either to Philip. Publius Villius had sailed to Apollonia, as successor to the consul Sulpicius Galba, which indi-

[16] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 57.
[17] Eton's Turkish Empire, c. ix.
[18] Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 44. et seq.

cated the dissatisfaction of the Romans with the proceedings of the latter. Philip had to dread not only the persevering exertions of his enemies, but the defection of his allies and the rebellion of his subjects. The Achæans had already shown a reluctance to participate in his danger. A spirit of revolt had seized some places in Thessaly, particularly the city called Thaumaci, "the wonder," because in proceeding inland from the Malian gulph and Thermopylæ, the traveller first emerged from craggy rocks and narrow valleys, to behold at Thaumaci the boundless plains of Thessaly, waving before his eyes its yellow harvests. The Macedonians, also, entitled to great privileges by their laws, had become displeased with their king, and still more with his ministers. To obviate these evils, Philip assiduously courted the Achæans, and even withdrew garrisons, which his suspicion had long kept in Orchomenos and some other Achæan cities. He besieged Thaumaci in the heart of winter; and he appeased the Macedonians by sacrificing Heraclides, recently commander of the fleet at Demetrias, and who, in the exercise of that and other high employments, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious by his rapacity and cruelty. Heraclides had entered into the service of Philip like other unprincipled fugitives whom that prince received with open arms, as instruments the best fitted for every mischief. He was a native of Tarentum in Italy, and had successively betrayed his countrymen to the Romans, and the Romans to Han-

raclides given up by him.

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nibal. In time of profound peace, he had undertaken to burn the Rhodian fleet. He was a man polluted by various and contrary vices[19]; of intolerable haughtiness to his inferiors, and the most slavish obsequiousness to men in power, uniting at once every thing base in perfidy and dangerous in audacity; and an example, among many others in the reign of Philip, that bad princes will never fail to find still worse ministers.

His imposing attitude on mount Æropus, Olymp. cxlv. 2. B.C. 199.

The strong situation of Thaumaci enabled the place to hold out, until the necessity of Philip's affairs recalled him to the confines of Epirus.[20] He suspected that the consul Villius would take the field early in the spring; and, profiting by the errors of his predecessor, would endeavour to penetrate into Thessaly by remounting the river Aöus, which falls into the sea at Apollonia. In that case he must traverse Athamania, the southernmost part of the mountainous chain above-mentioned. Athenagoras proceeded thither with a part of the army: the king followed with the remainder, and, after examining the ground, and occupying with detachments less important passes, encamped on mounts Æropus and Asnaus, between which the Aöus flows in a narrow valley. Where the natural strength of the hills afforded not sufficient security, they were laboriously fortified by art; vast quantities of engines were skilfully disposed; the royal

[19] Polybius, l. xiii. c. 4. & Polyænus, l. v. c. 17.
[20] Tit Liv. l. xxxii. c. 4.

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pavilion towered conspicuously in front of the encampment. This imposing attitude strangely disconcerted Villius. His intention, as Philip had foreseen, was to have avoided the dangerous route formerly pursued by Sulpicius, and to have passed through Athamania into Thessaly. But the sight of the king's camp filled him with perplexity. He resolved, and changed his resolution, and continued still deliberating which course to pursue, when a messenger brought news that Titus Quintius Flamininus had been elected consul; that the province of Macedon had fallen to him by lot; and that he had already arrived in the harbour of Corcyra.[21]

The consul Flaminius sent to command against Philip. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

The best excuse for the inactivity of Villius is, that Titus Quintius who came accompanied by his brother Lucius as commander of the fleet, and a reinforcement of eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred horse, remained forty days in sight of Philip without venturing to assault him. Titus Quintius was scarcely thirty years old when he became consul, having risen by his merit and popularity to that high rank from the office of questor, without passing through the intermediate dignities of edile and pretor.[22] In the most illustrious age of Rome, he was the most accomplished of all the Romans. He rivalled the Greeks in their own attainments; adding to a perfect acquaintance with their language and literature, a lively wit and winning

[21] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 5. et seq.

[22] Plutarch. in Flamin. Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 7.

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affability, with such conciliatory manners and soothing discourse, that, at a time when his country was extending her empire over the greatest nations, he never once spoke of her power or resentment, but only of her good faith, her moderation, and her clemency. Though the province of Macedon devolved to him by lot, wisdom could not have committed the war to an abler general, or, after victory, to a more prudent statesman. In Macedon and Greece, he spent the best of his life; and, after rendering the former country tributary, completely established the Roman ascendency in the latter.

Conference between them.

While the armies remained on both sides inactive, Philip was flattered with the hopes of peace by means of the chieftains of the Epirots. Through their intervention, for Quintius affected to treat them with much regard, a conference was held, during which the king and consul with their respective attendants stood on opposite banks of the Aöus. It was demanded, on the part of the Romans, that the places taken from their allies should be restored, and that all other injuries done to them, should either be repaired or compensated. Philip replied that many cities and districts, beyond the limits of Macedon, had descended to him from his ancestors; that many others had been conquered by himself. That, for the sake of peace, he would withdraw his garrisons from the latter; but could not think of relinquishing the former, which he held by right of inheritance. As to other matters, he was ready to submit them to

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the arbitration of any neutral power, which the Romans thought proper to name. Quintius replied, "that there could not be any room for arbitration, since Philip was manifestly in the wrong;" and then proceeding to mention the states that were to be emancipated, named first of all "the Thessalians?" At this, Philip exclaimed, "What harder condition could even a conqueror impose on me?" The conference ended with such animosity on both sides, that it was well the river intervened.[23]

Battle on mount Æropus.

Next day, the Macedonian posts were attacked with vigour, but as vigorously defended. From the loss which he had sustained, the consul was led to despair of making a successful impression on them, when a shepherd sent by Charopus, a friendly chief of the Epirots, offered to conduct part of the Roman army through secret windings of the hills, to the rear of the Macedonian encampment. He had assurances of liberal rewards if found faithful, but was nevertheless delivered bound to a tribune, who departed in a moon-shine night, with a detachment of four thousand foot and three hundred horse. On the third morning, the tribune having rested in the day-time, and marched expeditiously during the night, found himself on an eminence, commanding the enemy's rear, and ready to execute the consul's orders. These consisted in setting fire to a pile of wood, for all those mountains were covered with trees,

23 Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 10.

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and thereby signifying his arrival; but he was not to raise the shout of war, or alarm the enemy, until the action had commenced in front. During the intermediate time, Quintius had amused the king with slight skirmishes: but, on seeing the smoke made by his detachment, he led his whole army to a more serious attack. Philip, with imprudent gallantry, also sallied from his camp, and was driven back with considerable loss within the protection of his batteries. The Romans pursued him thither, and began in their turn to suffer very severely from the perpetual discharge of his engines. But their ardour carried them onward, and the shouts of the detachment pouring down on the enemy's rear, spread an alarm in that quarter, which was quickly communicated to the whole Macedonian army.[24] Philip himself joined in the disorderly flight, and did not recover from his consternation till he had reached a commanding eminence five miles distant. He then began to rally the fugitives: two thousand were missing; their camp was occupied by the Romans.

Thessaly ravaged by four armies. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

After this success, the consul paused to provide himself with proper guides from among the Epirots and Athamanians. The king, he found, had taken post on mount Lingon, whose northern side looked towards Macedon, and whose long eastern ridges shut up Thessaly. It was covered with thick forests, and its highest

[24] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 12.

regions contained wide fields, and abundance of perennial springs. In this post Philip remained several days, uncertain whether to retreat towards his hereditary kingdom, or to make a stand in Thessaly and defend the most ancient and the most valuable of his Grecian provinces. The latter measure was adopted. He descended to the frontier town of Tricca, and thence following the course of the river Peneus, traversed in their utmost breadth the fertile plains of Thessaly even to the valley of Tempé and its mountains Olympus and Ossa, which overhang the Thermaic gulph. In his hasty progress through the country, he commanded the inhabitants of some defenceless towns to follow him with their most precious effects, lest they should fall a prey to the invader. What could not be transported by the natives, was either burned, or seized as booty by his soldiers. He had scarcely ended his march, when the Etolians and Athamanians, hearing of his defeat and flight, broke by different routes into Thessaly, and committed great ravages; so that the open country had already smarted under three invading armies, before the Romans descended from the gorges of Athamania to attack Phaleria and other well-fortified cities. They made themselves masters of Phaleria and Gomphi.[25]

Romans baffled before Ægīnium and Atrax.

They next attempted Ægīnium, but found it impregnable. They then laid siege to the im-

[25] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13, 14.

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[26] A drachma is $7\frac{3}{4}$ pence.

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man. The combined fleet then sailed to Cenchreæ, the spacious western harbour of Corinth, with intention of wresting from Philip that valuable city, as soon as the consul and his army were ready to co-operate in the assault. But Quintius was detained before the walls of Atrax; and when, by his machines and mines, he had made wide breaches in them, he found that the bloodiest part of the work was only to begin. The Macedonians, thinking it nobler to defend themselves by bravery than by battlements, filled up the entrances by bristling lines of pikemen. The Roman pila made no impression; and as often as the assailants had recourse to their swords, they were on every occasion foiled by the thickset protended spears of their adversaries. The consul, unwilling to expose the inferiority of the Roman arms and tactics [27], raised the siege; and, as the country around had been completely foraged, and that there was not any harbour in Etolia or Acarnania fit at once to contain his victuallers and to lodge his troops, he determined to winter at Anticyra in Phocis. [28]

Success of the Romans in Phocis. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

This city, which had been enriched by its traffic to Delphi, the immemorial seat of commerce and superstition, was further recommended for a military post by its central situation. It had Bœotia on one side, and Locris on the other: Thessaly was behind it; and the Peloponnesus before, separated only by a narrow

[27] Inferior certainly in this kind of warfare.

[28] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 15. et seq.

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frith. The Romans had not here to encounter that obstinacy of resistance which had baffled them at Atrax. Anticyra and nine less considerable cities in its neighbourhood were taken in a few weeks; Elatæa alone kept its gates shut, and detained the consul in a long siege.[29]

Deliberations of the Achæan council.

While he was thus occupied in Phocis, his brother Lucius had not been inactive at Cenchreæ. He was fully prepared for undertaking operations against Corinth, and, to commence them, only waited the consul's orders, when an object still more important solicited their joint attention. The Achæans, in the room of Cycliades, a man on good terms with Philip, had elected for pretor Aristænus, a warm partisan of Rome. The occasion seemed favourable for gaining that confederacy, by opening to it the prospect of recovering Corinth. With this proposal, ambassadors were sent from the Romans, from Attalus, from the Rhodians, and from the Athenians; the states of Achaia agreed to hear them at Sicyon, but at the same time called to the council Cleomedon, who, as ambassador from Philip, had long resided in the Peloponnesus. The first day was entirely consumed in adverse and angry speeches. Next day, the council met to deliberate. The herald, according to custom, invited the members to declare their opinions. But all kept silence. Their situation was, indeed, perplexing. Since the praise-worthy reign of Antigonus Doson, who

[29] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 19.

had defended them against Sparta, and enabled them to cement their confederacy, they had been closely connected with the kings of Macedon. Their several states swore annually to Philip, under the name of his allies, an oath rather of fealty than friendship; but they detested the vices, and despised the levity of that prince. They knew his ill-will to Philopœmen, who had infused into many of his countrymen his own elevated patriotism. Philopœmen was now absent in Crete; but all those who entered, into his views, felt an aversion to foreign interference. In this state of general suspense, the pretor Aristænus arose, observing, that he too would keep silence, were he not obliged by his public duty to answer the ambassadors, and that his answer could not be given before the Achæans had decided the nature of it by their decree. Let us therefore consider what fell yesterday from the contending parties, not as dictated by their respective interests, but as different opinions proposed for our deliberation, that we may adopt whichever appears most useful. Under this aspect, the alliance offered by Rome, ought doubtless to be preferred. Peloponnesus is almost an island; the Romans are masters at sea; and we are under the necessity of now accepting them for our friends, or of meeting them instantly as enemies.[30]

How rendered favourable to Rome.

His discourse was received with a mixture of applause and murmur. Not only the members

[30] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 19. et seq.

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Olymp. cxlv. 3. B.C. 198.

of the council, but the ten demiurgi, without whose consent the vote could not be put, were completely at variance. Five contended for the Roman alliance, five as warmly opposed it. Among the latter was Memnon, whose father, after urging with him every argument to withdraw his opposition, at length threatened him with death if he persisted in disobedience. By the defection of Memnon from his party, a majority of the demiurgi proposed the question: the alliance with Attalus, with the Rhodians, and with Rome, was accepted by all the confederate cities, except Argos, Dymé, and Megalopolis. The deputies of these cities rose up and left the council. Argos had given kings to Macedon from whom Philip was descended; Dymé owed peculiar obligations to that prince; and Megalopolis was indebted to his predecessor Antigonus Doson, not only for its greatness, but its existence as an independent branch of the Achæan confederacy.[31]

Conferences desired by Philip.

The Romans thus obtained the alliance of Achaia, but could not pay the price at which they had agreed to purchase it. Corinth held out against its combined assailants; for Philip, who, from his camp at Tempé, sparingly succoured places of less importance, had been careful strongly to reinforce his garrison in the Corinthian citadel. The consul being obliged at the approach of winter to raise the siege, the Roman fleet sailed to Corcyra; that of Attalus

[31] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 19. ubi supra. Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

and the Rhodians to the Piræus. For his failure at Corinth, Quintius made some compensation by taking Elatæa. The Macedonians in the place were allowed to depart unarmed, the citizens had their lives and liberties. The Roman army was then cantoned for the winter in Phocis and Locris. Shortly afterwards a sedition broke out at Opus, a city in the latter district, one party wishing to surrender it to the Etolians, the other to the Romans, while both were alike eager to expel the Macedonian garrison. But this garrison kept possession of the citadel, and when on the point of being attacked by the consul, ambassadors came from Philip, saying, that he wished for a conference. Quintius listened to this request, because he did not yet know, but expected almost immediately to learn, whether the Romans had prorogued the term of his command, or appointed one of the new consuls for his successor. In the latter case, he would give the conference a pacific turn, and thus enjoy the glory of putting an honourable end to the war; but if the Romans, pleased with his success, should, as he greatly wished, again assign to him the province of Macedon, he determined to reject all terms of accommodation, until he had completely humbled the enemy. He therefore named a time and place for the interview: the time was such as suited his own views; the place was Nicæa, a Locrian town on the Malian gulph, not far from Thermopylæ.

Singular bravery of

Before the conference took place, a very memorable scene, in which Philip was concerned,

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500 Achæan youths. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B.C. 198.

had been transacted at Argos. We have seen how the deputies of Argos, from attachment to the Macedonian interest, abruptly left the Achæan council rather than concur with the majority in concluding an alliance with Rome. They carried home with them this party spirit, which made it necessary for the Achæans to send to Argos a garrison, consisting of five hundred youths selected from the different cities of the league, and zealously attached to its interests. It was the custom at Argos, on the first day of assembly, to invoke the auspicious names of Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules, to which the name of Philip had of late years been added; a ceremony, which, according to the pliant superstition of the Greeks, seemed a becoming respect to the king, while he was regarded as protector of the Achæans: but, as this people had just confederated with his enemies, the invocation of Philip was deemed improper by the herald, and therefore omitted by him. The partisans of Macedon exclaimed against the omission: the honour, they said, had been legally decreed to the king; and the decree had never been rescinded. Philip, besides that his family claimed its descent from Argos, was highly popular in that city, in whose numerous festivities he had often presided with much condescension and good humour. The general voice of the assembly demanded that his name should be invoked as formerly. This circumstance escaped not the notice of Philocles, the Macedonian governor of Corinth. He

hastened to Argos with a strong detachment, and took post in the night on Larissa, a hill so named commanding the city. In the morning he descended in hostile array to make an easy conquest, as most of the Argives were well affected to his master, when he perceived advancing towards him the five hundred Achæan youths, also in order of battle. He sent to them a herald with orders to stop their progress, and exhort their peaceful return to their respective cities. The youths determined unanimously to obey their commander Ænesedemus of Dymé; and, though totally inadequate to a successful struggle, resolved with one accord to fight and die for their country. But Ænesedemus, unwilling that the flower of Achaia should be cropped thus untimely, entered into a composition with Philocles for their departure in safety. In compliance with the orders of their leader they left the field, Ænesedemus only remaining with a few Achæans attached to his person. Philocles sent a small band of Thracians to learn the reason of his delay. He answered by projecting his shield in an attitude of defiance, adding that he stood there, to die in arms defending the city entrusted to him. The Thracians, by order of their captain, slew Ænesedemus and his friends.[32]

Conferences at Nicæa. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C. 197.

At length the time approached, in which the king and consul were to hold their proposed conference. Philip sailed for this purpose from Demetrias, in a large ship of war, attended by

[32] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 25.

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five smaller vessels. He carried with him his secretaries Apollodorus and Demosthenes, Macedonians: Brachylles a Bœotian; and Cycliades, recently pretor of the Achæans, but now living in exile since the confederacy of his republic with Rome.[34] Quintius came to the shore to meet him with a more numerous and far nobler attendance. Amynander, king of the Athamanians, Dionysidorus ambassador from king Attalus, Acesimbrotus commander of the Rhodian fleet, Phæneas pretor of the Etolians, with other leading men belonging to the Etolians and Achæans. At the sight of this great retinue, Philip kept aloof, and declined landing, though beckoned by the consul. Upon which Quintius asked him of what he was afraid? He answered, I fear the gods only, but I distrust many whom I see around you, and chiefly the Etolians. Trust, the Roman said, is not to be wantonly reposed in enemies; but here the danger is mutual and equal. That, rejoined Philip, is not true; for if Phæneas the Etolian were slain, his countrymen would easily find a new and fit pretor; but in case of the like accident to myself, the Macedonians must, at this juncture, be left with a minor for their king. This ill-breeding, at the outset, shocked all present; and Philip was desired to explain wherefore he had requested a meeting. He said, that it belonged rather to the consul to say wherefore he had entered his dominions, and on what conditions he would be con-

33 Polybius, l. xvii. c. 1. et seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 32. et seq.

tented to quit them. The conditions of peace which I shall propose, said Quintius, are clear and simple; you must relinquish every part of Greece, restoring all prisoners and deserters to their respective states: you must restore to the Romans the places still occupied by you in Illyricum, in violation of the faith of treaties; you must restore also to Ptolemy Epiphanes all the cities which you have wrested from him since the death of his father. Such are the demands of the Romans; their allies, here present, will speak for themselves. Attalus's ambassador then required that Philip should surrender to his master, the ships, together with their crews, taken in the famous battle of Chios or Casysté; and that he should restore the Nicephorium, the sacred ornament of Pergamus, to the same splendid condition, in which his desolating invasion had found it. The Rhodians next insisted that he should withdraw his garrisons from Caria, the coasts of which rightfully belonged to them, and that he should evacuate Sestos and Abydus, and all other cities of traffic in Asia, or round the narrow seas. The Achæans demanded the restitution of Corinth and Argos. The Etolians spoke last, to the same effect as the Romans, that Philip should totally relinquish Greece, after he had restored to themselves in as good condition as that in which they formerly stood, all the places which he had wrested from their confederacy. These demands were made briefly by Phæneas the Etolian pretor. But there was a man called Alexander the Isian, from his

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native city Isus [34], who passed among the Etolians for an able orator. This man availed himself of an opportunity to display his talents, by inveighing against Philip in the most bitter terms, as a prince disgraced by every thing perfidious in negociation, or cruel and cowardly in war. His merciless depredation of defenceless districts, accompanied with the burning of sacred groves, and the demolition of temples, he contrasted with the glorious exploits of former Macedonian kings; of the great Alexander who conquered the Eastern world, not with a view to gratify his own resentment or ambition, but to promote the best interests even of the vanquished; of the numerous successors of that prince, who contended nobly with each other for empire, but never made war by sacking cities, and desolating countries, and thus absurdly destroying the prizes of victory. The Isian then took a review of Philip's reign, in language the most acrimonious. When his invective ended, the king approached nearer to land, and stood forward in his ship to reply. But he had not proceeded far in his discourse, when he was rudely interrupted by the pretor Phæneas, who told him that his excuses were useless and senseless; he had but one alternative, either to conquer in battle, or to submit to the conditions required of him. This, said Philip, is clear even to a blind man; for it happened that Phæneas was

[34] Strabo places Isus in Bœotia; there must have been another place of the same name in Etolia.

blear-eyed and purblind; and then arraigned in his turn a law of the Etolians, which permitted them "to take spoils from the spoils;" an execrable practice, he said, which both himself and other Greeks had often solemnly exhorted them to abolish, but with so little effect, that the only answer given was, that it would be as easy to separate Etolia from Etolia, as to rescind the law in question. The consul wondering what this might mean, Philip proceeded to describe the unprincipled proceedings of the Etolians, who lost no opportunity of plundering their own allies, on pretence of saving them from the hands of their enemies. He then observed, that the condition, demanded, of relinquishing Greece, sounded harsh and haughty even in the Romans; but that, from the Etolians, such a demand was altogether intolerable; "from men who had neither the laws nor manners of Greece, and many of whose townships had never been acknowledged to belong to that country. The districts of the Agræans, Apodotæ, and Amphilochians, were indeed in Etolia, yet formed no part of Greece. These doubtless you resign to me." Quintius smiled at this conceit. Philip then said, that to the Achæans he would restore Argos, but not Corinth: to the Rhodians, that he would give back Peræa in Caria: that Attalus should have his ships with their crews, but for his grove of the Nicephorium, he knew not how to make the restitution required, except by sending to him some plants, with persons properly qualified

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to cultivate and rear them. Quintius again smiled at this taunt. The king then addressing himself to the consul, in particular, asked whether in his opinion it were just that he should part with the Greek cities that had been transmitted to him from his ancestors. To this the Romans not making an immediate reply, the pretors of the Achæans and Etolians again rose to speak. But the day was far advanced, and Philip, besides, was unwilling to hear any more reproaches. He therefore desired that the conditions of peace might be given to him in writing: he wished, he said, to retire and consider them deliberately, for he was there alone without any friend to advise with. Quintius, who had listened with complaisance to the king's biting jests, thought that he ought not here to let slip the opportunity of being witty in his turn.[35] He therefore said, perhaps Philip you are alone, because all your friends have been dismissed by you. The king, conscious of his murders, forced a reluctant grin, called the Sardonic smile; and the conference thus ended as coarsely and brutally as it had begun.[36] The conditions however were given to Philip in writing, and a second meeting was appointed. To this the king came at a late hour of the day, on pretence that he could not

[35] Polybius, l. xvii. c. 4—9. The wit on all sides is bad; but the parties also were in bad humour. This occasioned Philip's rudeness at the onset: his ill-breeding at this time is contrasted, as we shall see below, with his ευτραπελια and urbanity on future occasions.

[36] Id. ibid.

sooner make up his mind, but in reality to avoid the insulting declamations of his adversaries. At his earnest desire, he had a conference with the consul apart, the Greek deputies having for this purpose retired to a proper distance from the shore. Upon their return, Philip's propositions were communicated, and declared to be unsatisfactory; but on account of the lateness of the hour, a third meeting was appointed for the following day at Thronium, a place five miles from Nicæa, and also on the sea-shore. Here, after much altercation, it was finally determined that Philip should have a truce for two months, that he might have time to send ambassadors to the senate; and although this condescension was disapproved at first by the allies, the consul persuaded them to consent to it, by representing that, as the resolutions of peace or war depended entirely on the senate, the present was the fittest occasion for consulting that council, when, on account of the severity of winter, it was yet impossible to take the field.

Negociations at Rome. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C. 197.

Quintius had by this time received from his friends at Rome, flattering intimations, but no positive assurances, that the term of his command would be protracted. He sent, therefore, together with Philip's ambassadors, a deputation from himself to the senate, and likewise Amynander king of the Athamanians, whose royal title, he thought, would give him considerable weight, and whose pliancy of temper, he knew, would make him implicitly submit to the di-

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rection of those friends at Rome to whom he was addressed. Fit deputies were also sent from the Achæans, Etolians, and Athenians. By this management, the affair was not brought before the senate, until a decree had passed for continuing Quintius in Greece. The ambassadors then desired to be heard, and urged again with the senate precisely the same arguments which they had used at the preceding conferences with Philip, insisting chiefly, that there could be no safety for their several states, whatever concessions might be obtained in other points, while that prince kept hold of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which, with no less truth than insolence, he called the three fetters of Greece. When the king's ambassadors began to make reply in a studied oration, their discourse was cut short, and an explicit answer demanded, whether their master was ready to withdraw his garrisons from the three cities in question? They acknowledged that their instructions did not extend thus far, and were dismissed from the senate, not unblamed by that assembly, for having presumed to appear in it with such imperfect powers.[37]

Transactions with the tyrant Nabis. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C. 197.

In return for the truce granted to him, Philip had withdrawn his remaining garrisons from Locris and Phocis, so that Quintius enjoyed perfect ease and security during his winter quarters. Upon the approach of spring, the Romans voted him a reinforcement of five thou-

37 Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 37.

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sand foot and five hundred horse, to be conducted by Sulpicius and Villius, now appointed lieutenants to Quintius, in the same war which they had before waged as generals. A supply of three thousand sailors was also decreed to the proconsul's brother Lucius, who remained at Corcyra as commander of the fleet. During the continuance of the truce, Philip had not been inactive in preparation, nor hesitated in adopting any measure, however unwarrantable, that promised to retrieve his affairs. Before he returned to Macedon for the purpose of recruiting his army, he endeavoured to deprive the proconsul of the advantages which might be expected from his recent treaty with the Achæan league. In this view, Philip condescended to court his old enemy Nabis, and even surrendered to him the city of Argos; a city whose inhabitants had so recently shown the warmest personal attachment to himself, but who, when it suited his convenience, were resigned by him into the hands of a merciless tyrant. This most disgraceful action, Philip hoped indeed to palliate by the pretence that Argos was only given as a deposit, that it might be defended against his enemies. But Nabis did not thus understand the transaction. By the division of lands, and abolition of debts, two firebrands always employed by tyrannical demagogues, he quickly reduced Argos to a level with Sparta [38],

[38] Rogationem promulgavit unam de tabulis novis, alteram de agro viritim dividendo, duas faces, novantibus res, ad plebem in optimates accendendam. Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. 38.

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and destroyed, or drove into exile every family, and every individual of birth or fortune in the commonwealth. Having thus moulded the Argives agreeably to his own views, he was so regardless of Philip's interest, that he sent an embassy to Quintius at Elatæa, saying, that if he made a journey into Peloponnesus, he doubted not that matters might be concerted for their common benefit. Upon this message, the proconsul went to Anticyra, and sailed from thence to Sicyon with ten quinqueremes, that had been brought round by his brother Lucius from Corcyra. He was met at Sicyon according to appointment by king Attalus, whose fleet lay at Ægina; and by Nicostratus, pretor of the Achæans. Attalus advised the proconsul by no means to trust himself in Argos: the conference with the tyrant was therefore held at a place called Mycenica, a little distant from the city. The proconsul, with his brother Lucius, as well as Attalus and Nicostratus, all came unarmed. They found Nabis at the head of his soldiers. He began by apologising for this martial appearance, saying, that he had no distrust of any present, but that it was necessary for him to be on his guard against the Argive exiles. Quintius made two demands, that Nabis should supply him with a body of men to act against Philip; and that he should conclude a peace with the Achæans. The former requisition was complied with; but, instead of a peace, all that could be obtained by Nicostratus was a truce of four months. Attalus also, who on every oc-

casion espoused the cause of humanity and justice, failed in obtaining any mitigation of suffering for the unhappy Argives. Nabis positively refused to withdraw his mercenaries from their city, lest even those Argives, who had shared with him the plunder of their superiors, might be disposed to take arms to avoid being plundered in turn, by their rapacious and relentless accomplice.[39]

Attalus in Sicyon.

Quintius was alone benefited by the transaction with Nabis, having derived from it a reinforcement of six hundred Cretans. With these, he paraded, in his return to Anticyra, before the gates of Corinth, in order to show Philocles, who commanded there for Philip, that Nabis had deserted his master, and to induce that governor also to revolt. Philocles refused to betray his trust; but his behaviour was such as left room to conjecture that his loyalty was not unalterable. To promote the proconsul's views, Attalus had ordered his fleet into the harbour Cenchreæ. He proceeded to join it there, after visiting the little commonwealth of Sicyon, between which and himself there had long subsisted a connexion founded on similarity of principles and pursuits, particularly the love of the fine arts. The king presented that community with ten talents of silver and ten thousand bushels of corn; the Sicyonians honoured him in return with altars and statues.[40]

[39] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 39. & 40.

[40] Polybius, l. xvii. c. 16.

Magnanimity and good faith of the Acarnanians.

The proconsul, as the season for taking the field approached, moved from Anticyra and the southern extremity of Phocis, to fix his quarters at Elatæa, on the northern frontier of that province. From this commanding post, taking a view of his strength and alliances, he had just grounds for confidence. The neighbouring countries of Phocis, Doris, and Locris, were entirely at his devotion. The Peloponnesus was behind him, the whole of which was in his interest, except the single city of Corinth. On his right hand, the Athenians and Megareans were zealous allies; on his left the Etolians had equal inclination and far more power to serve him. The rich plains of Thessaly were in front, where, in all probability, Philip would make a stand, at once to defend these valuable possessions, and to prevent the invasion of his hereditary kingdom. Yet this dazzling prospect did not tempt the proconsul to advance into Thessaly, until he had endeavoured to gain the only states behind him, which had not yet espoused his party. These were the Acarnanians on the west, and the Bœotians on the east. His brother Lucius sailed therefore to the coast of Acarnania; and, after all negociation had failed with a people of high honour and invincibly firm in their friendships, laid siege to Leucas. His assaults were repelled, and the Acarnanians vindicated their good faith to Philip by deeds of heroic valour; nor did they submit to become allies to Rome, until every hope of resistance

was blasted by the decisive battle of Kynoscephalæ.[41]

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Thebes gained by stratagem. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C. 197.

The proconsul exerted himself in person, to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, and attained this object by a stratagem unworthy of his character. Having sent for Attalus to Elatæa, he proceeded through Phocis with him and Aristænus pretor of the Achæans, and fixed his camp at the distance of five miles from Thebes. Next day, escorted by a single maniple or company of soldiers, they proceeded to that city, the proconsul having taken care that two thousand armed men should follow them, at such an interval as prevented suspicion. Antiphilus, the Bœotian pretor, who had recently obtained that office in preference to Brachylles, a man totally devoted to Philip, and now attending that prince, came forth to meet them with a crowd of citizens. As they approached the gates, Quintius proceeded more slowly, on pretence of saluting the townsmen, but really with a view that his armed men (the *Hastati* of two legions) might have time to come up. Amidst the curiosity and bustle of the multitude, obstructing the procession, or driven before the lictors in confusion, the Thebans did not immediately observe, or, observing, did not oppose, the entrance of two thousand Roman soldiers within their gates. When they found this body of men surrounding the place of hospitality appointed for the reception of illustrious visitants,

41 Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 16. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 30.

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they doubted not that the city had been betrayed by their pretor. The glories of Epaminondas and Pelopidas had passed away: the Thebans were no longer a public spirited, or even a martial people; complaint would be unavailing, and might prove dangerous; an assembly therefore was proclaimed for next day, to deliberate on the alliance with Rome; and, as all the inferior cities of Bœotia on this occasion sent deputies to Thebes, the measure was carried with unanimous approbation.[42] This assembly is memorable for a melancholy event which happened in it. Attalus, in the seventy-third year of his age, having overstrained his voice in urging the alliance with Rome, fell down in a fit, and died a few weeks afterwards, in consequence of the only transaction of his public life, of which, in a reign of forty-five years, he had reason to be ashamed. Since the glorious victory over the Gauls, in the first year of his reign, he had been formidable to his enemies, faithful to his allies, indulgent to his subjects, and bound in cordial domestic affection with four sons born to him by Apollonias, a humble native of Cyzicus, but whose virtues endeared her through a long life to her husband Attalus and her sons Eumenes II. and Attalus surnamed Philadelphus, who followed him successively on the throne.[43] To

Death of Attalus. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B. C. 197.

[42] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 1, 2.

[43] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 24. l. xxiii. c. 3. & c. 18. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 2. & l. xlii. c. 55. The other sons of Attalus were Philetærus and Athenæus. Liv. ibid. Apollonias thanked the gods, not for making her the wife and mother of kings, but for the con-

soothe the sufferings of Attalus, the proconsul remained longer than he would otherwise have done at Thebes. As soon as the king's condition permitted, he was conveyed to his ships, and set sail for Elæa, his principal harbour; while Quintius returned to Elatæa, and bent his whole thoughts to the prosecution of the war against Philip.

Movements preceding the battle of Kynoscephalæ.

That prince had recruited his army, with much difficulty, in a country exhausted by six years of uninterrupted war. He was compelled to admit into the Macedonian phalanx many youths who had barely passed their sixteenth year, and many old men beyond the age of sixty. To this heavy armed body of sixteen thousand men, he added above five thousand lighter troops, with two thousand cavalry, and marched towards the frontier town of Dium, and afterwards to Larissa in Thessaly. The consul, about the same time, entered that province by the straits of Thermopylæ, commanding two Roman legions and about ten thousand allies; Greeks, Athamanians, and Epirots. His infantry was equal to the enemy's; his cavalry was more numerous than theirs, and also bolder and better disciplined; for the Thessalians, who had long lan-

cord that prevailed in the royal family. Plutarch. de Fratern. Amore, p. 480. Her religious procession through the temples of Cyzicus, in the midst of her sons, her hands clasped in theirs, was a spectacle of delight to the companions of her humble days, the matrons of Cyzicus. She was compared with the happy mother of Cleobis and Biton. See Herodotus, l. i. 31. & Cicero Tuscul. l. 1. c. 47. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxiii. c. 18.

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Thessalians and Macedonians: the conflict was obstinate but undecisive; both parties returned to camp, the Macedonians having suffered most in the action, so bravely had the Etolians fought under their leader Eupolemus, and so efficaciously had he exhorted the troops of Italy to follow their example.[44]

Parallel march to Kynoscephalæ.

The event of this skirmish reminded Philip, that the ground about Pheræ, every where covered with inclosures, plantations, and gardens, was equally unfit for the operations of his phalanx, and the compact charge of his Thessalian horse. He wished besides to remove to Scotussa, about thirty miles northward, where he would find ample supplies of corn. The proconsul penetrated his design, so that the two armies again decamped at nearly the same time, and on this occasion marched in a parallel direction, the space between them being filled up by a hilly chain extending all the way from Pheræ to Scotussa, of no great loftiness, yet sufficient to conceal the armies from each other. Philip pursuing his march on the right, made his first halt on the banks of the Onchestus; the proconsul following the direct road, encamped the first night at Eretria. Next day, both parties prosecuting their begun course, Philip rested at Melambium, in the district of Scotussa, and Quintius at Thetidium, in that of Pharsalus. The following morning brought impetuous torrents of rain, accompanied by tremendous thun-

[44] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 2.

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der; and so thick a darkness fell on the earth, that the soldiers could with difficulty find their way. Philip, however, who had nearly reached Scotussa and the end of his journey, began to march, but afterwards thought proper again to encamp, having first detached a body of light troops to take possession of the heights between the two armies. Quintius continued in his camp at Thetidium, but sent out on discovery a body of light infantry, with ten troops of horse. This party fell in with the Macedonians on the heights above mentioned. A conflict ensued, and the Romans were in danger of defeat, when a reinforcement of two thousand foot and five hundred horse came seasonably to their relief. The face of affairs now changed; the Macedonians were pressed in their turn, and forced to retreat back to the ground from which they had repelled the enemy. As the darkness began to disperse, Philip, who never suspected that he would be so soon compelled to a general engagement, had allowed numerous foraging parties to leave the camp. But, being informed of the danger of his detachment, he ordered most of the Thessalian and Macedonian cavalry, with all his mercenaries, except the Thracians, to advance to its rescue, with positive orders to return quickly, after effecting this service. In the action which followed, the Macedonians were completely successful; their detachment was not only rescued, but the Romans were driven from the heights, and pursued with such slaughter and shouts of victory as spread general

Battle of Kynoscephalæ. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C. 197.

consternation through their camp. Their loss would have been still greater but for the incredible exertions of the Etolian cavalry, which, though often repelled, returned again as often to the charge. When the tumult of war first reached the proconsul, he drew his men from their entrenchments, and posted them near the foot of the hills, which were far less abrupt and rough on his own side than on that of the Macedonian encampment. Having addressed the soldiers in a short and suitable discourse, he ordered his right wing to remain in reserve, and at the head of his left moved towards the enemy. Meanwhile successive messengers came to Philip, proclaiming with exultation that the Romans were put to flight; that he had only to advance and complete his victory. Philip liked neither the time nor the place; for his foragers had barely returned from their fatiguing excursions, and the heights which he must ascend were roughened by the protuberances of Kynoscephalæ[45], so called because their rugged cliffs bore a fanciful resemblance to the heads of grinning dogs. Yet the sanguine ardour of his mind carried him into a situation that made a general engagement unavoidable. At the head of his targeteers and the right division of his phalanx, he marched in good order to seize the heights, commanding Nicanor to bring up the remaining and far larger division with all possi-

[45] Or Cynoscephalæ; the change of the first C into K better indicates the meaning of the name.

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ble expedition. The king advanced to his ground in column, and then formed his line of battle to the left, thirty-two deep. The day would have been his own, had Nicanor pursued a similar course, or been able, from the nature of the ground, to proceed with equal celerity. But that general, to avoid loss of time in forming when he should reach the summit, brought forwards his men in order of battle; the sections of his line thus finding, some of them no difficulties, and others almost unsurmountable obstacles in their way, were separated from each other; impatience to ascend only encreased their disorder, and the greater part were still clambering over rocks and crevices, when Philip was compelled to engage the enemy. The Macedonians levelled their spears; and on this occasion the phalanx maintained the superiority which it had always shown over every other arm in close engagement. The Romans receded; and their retreat was soon so manifest, that a general, less skilful than Quintius, would have considered the battle as lost. In this difficulty his sole confidence was in his right wing, which had stood in reserve, fronted by a chain of elephants to break the first violent irruption of the phalanx. While his left gave way, this division had advanced against the Macedonians, who were still employed in surmounting the rocks of Kynoscephalæ; and who, in their disorder, being only encumbered by their long spears and heavy shields, were altogether unable to resist the Roman sword in a desultory combat. Quin-

tius joined the victorious part of his army, and by completing, on this side, the overthrow of the enemy, made some compensation for the disgrace of his left wing. But in this state of affairs, a Roman tribune, whom historians do not name, fixed the fortune of the day, and obtained a great and ever-memorable victory.[46] Leaving it to his companions to cut down the Macedonians that were flying before them, he withdrew from the pursuit twenty maniples, or companies, and returned with the utmost speed to attack Philip's victorious division in rear. This assault was decisive, for the Macedonians were not headed by an Alexander, who, in such an emergency, would have availed himself of his great depth, to form the double-fronted phalanx, and thus have resisted the enemy behind him, without ceasing the action in front. But, as this movement was not attempted, as the Macedonian left wing was irrecoverably lost, and as the Romans, who had been repulsed by Philip, were still maintaining a running fight, and when they perceived the disorder in his line, began to resume new vigour, the havoc made by the tribune and his maniples, spread dismay through the whole phalanx. The greater part fled, throwing away their useless arms. It is uncertain whether those, who retained them, received quarter; for in another scene of the action, Quintius had not been able to save a division of the enemy's left wing, who, on per-

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[46] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 4. et seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 7. et seq.

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ceiving his approach, erected their spears in token of surrender. The Romans not understanding, or affecting not to understand the meaning of this manœuvre, cut most of them in pieces, before the proconsul, by explaining its signification, could effectually interpose in their favour. This victory, whose consequences were so important, is said to have cost the Romans but seven hundred men; of the Macedonians eight thousand were slain, and five thousand made prisoners.[46]

Negociations for peace.

When Philip saw the troops under his immediate command throw down their arms, he fled with some horse and light infantry to a neighbouring eminence, from whence he could survey the whole extent of his disaster. He then hastened to Gonni, a strong post at the entrance of the narrow and intricate vale of Tempé, and about fifteen miles distant from the field of battle. In the fortified camp, which he had formerly occupied there, he determined to halt, until he should collect the sad remains of his discomfited army; sending orders meanwhile to Larissa, to burn all his letters and papers, which he had left there upon marching against the Romans. This cool recollection in the midst of such heavy calamities, does no small credit to the king, for had his correspondence been preserved, the discoveries contained in it would not only have exasperated the Romans against himself, but provoked their keenest resentment

[46] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 4. et seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 7. et seq.

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against many of his partizans.[47] While the Macedonians sought safety amidst the winding defiles of Tempé, the Romans had been anticipated by the Etolians, in plundering the king's camp at Kynoscephalæ: they gained, however, a small gleaning of booty, which they secured with their numerous prisoners; and proceeded to Larissa, which, like the other cities of Thessaly, was now ready to open its gates to the victors. Thither Philip immediately sent heralds, on pretence of craving a suspension of arms that he might bury his slain, but really with a view to obtain the permission of entering into a negociation for peace. Quintius gratified the heralds to the full extent of their requests, desiring them to tell the king to be of good courage, and to hope every thing from the clemency of Rome. We shall presently see the Roman's motives for a moderation, which gave much offence to his allies, particularly the Etolians. This relentless people maintained, that there could be no security for themselves or the other states of Greece, until Philip was either slain or deprived of his kingdom. But the proconsul told them, that the Romans were not accustomed to carry on war with such implacable rancour. Good policy, he said, required that Philip should be humbled, not ruined. If the power of Macedon became extinct, what bulwark would remain to the Greeks against the Thracians, the Illyrians, the Treballi, and all the fierce nations around

Opposition made to it by the Etolians.

[47] Polyb. l. xviii. c. 17.

CHAP. XVIII. the Danube? Shortly afterwards two of Philip's friends, Demosthenes and Cycliades, came to propose a conference between their master and the generals of the allies. The arrangements for this meeting were fixed by the proconsul; and all parties assembled at the entrance of the vale of Tempé on the day appointed. At this interview, Philip appeared quite a new man: his coarseness and asperity had hitherto been offensive; he now conciliated all by his good humour and urbanity. Instead of disputing the ground, as it were, inch by inch, and then either yielding angrily, or holding out obstinately, he was more forward to make concessions than his enemies were to require them. Alexander the Isian, and Phænias the Etolian pretor, alone remained obdurate; alike insensible to his misfortunes and to the spirit with which he sustained them. When the king showed the utmost readiness to relinquish not only the conquests made by himself, but even many possessions that had descended to him from his ancestors, Phænias demanded explicitly, do you then abandon to us Larissa, Pharsalus, Phthian Thebes and Echinus? Philip replied, take them all, and welcome. Upon this Quintius interposed, observing, that to those cities of Thessaly which had voluntarily accepted their alliance, neither himself nor the Etolians could lay any fair claim. Phthian Thebes alone, which had shut its gates and rejected the friendship of Rome, was a just and legitimate conquest.[48]

[48] Polyb. l. xviii. c. 19—22. Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 13.

This remark highly offended the Etolians, who insisted that, in terms of the alliance, conquered cities and territories should accrue to themselves. Quintius answered, that the treaty alluded to had been done away, when the Etolians in the former war made a separate peace with Philip, without consultiug, as good faith required, their Roman allies. He might have added, but was probably restrained by a sense of dignity, that the Etolians had flagrantly violated the terms of their first confederacy with Rome, in being the foremost to plunder the king's camp at Kynoscephalæ, and thus depriving the Romans of any considerable share of the booty. The proconsul's resentment at this transaction, was heightened by the whole behaviour of that selfish and arrogant people. Not more rapacious of wealth than ambitious of fame, their presumption claimed for themselves the chief, or rather the sole honours of the war. According to their unblushing encomiasts[49], the Etolians, and not the Romans, had gained the battle of Kynoscephalæ, and to them fairly belonged the first prizes of victory. Indignation against these insolent allies, whose pretensions

Provisional terms granted to Philip. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B. C. 197.

[49] One of these was the poet Alceus, who contrasted the bravery of the Etolians with the cowardice of Philip, who ran away from Kynoscephalæ, leaving the slain unburied. Philip, who was also a poet, parodied his impertinent verses by the following inscription for a gallows:—

Luxuriant once, I widely swept the ground,
My fragrant boughs diffusing sweets around;
But now, a sapless gibbet, doom'd to bear
The traitor Alceus, rotting in the air.

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were re-echoed throughout Greece, concurred with other causes, that will be explained hereafter, to make Quintius come to a speedy adjustment with the common enemy. Philip was required to pay the sum of two hundred talents, and to surrender his younger son Demetrius, and a few other hostages. He had permission, in return, to send ambassadors to the senate, with assurances from the proconsul, that if his negociation failed, his hostages and money should be restored to him.[50] To allow full time for a happy accommodation of differences, a truce of four months was granted; an interval chequered with events, some of which were calculated to soften, while others had a tendency to aggravate the hard conditions of peace imposed on Philip by the senate.

[50] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 22.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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Progress of Antiochus. — His politic Views. — War in Greece. — Murders and Robberies in Bœotia. — The Rhodians oppose Antiochus. — Peace between Philip and the Romans. — Isthmian Games. — Proclamation of the Liberties of Grecce. — Antiochus's Thracian Expedition. — Conferences at Lysimachia. — Conspiracy in Egypt. — The Usurpation of the Romans arraigned by Alexander the Etolian. — War against the Tyrant Nabis. — The Romans withdraw from Greece. — Glory of Quintius Flamininus.

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Progress of Antiochus. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

HAD the Romans made war on Philip, merely in defence of their allies, Antiochus, at the same time, ought to have become the object of their hostility. The latter prince had wrested from Ptolemy Epiphanes, whom they fondly denominated their pupil, both Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia [1], and had availed himself of the resources of those provinces in men, timber, and iron, to equip a fleet, which gave great importance by sea to a power long formidable by land. After a seven years' war in the East, during which, through the resistless vigour of the phalanx and its accompanying cavalry, he had disarmed the rebellion of Parthia and Bactria, and dispelled the contagion of revolt from neighbouring satrapies, Antiochus turned his arms westward,

[1] Polybius, l. xvi. c. 18. et seqq. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 19.

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that he might restore the Syrian monarchy to the fulness of its ancient splendour. In the prosecution of this design, he respected neither the free cities on the coast of Lesser Asia, nor the allies of Rhodes in that peninsula, nor the dominions of Attalus king of Pergamus. Attalus, who was then zealously co-operating with the Romans in the war against Philip, sent ambassadors to the senate, requesting that either the legions of Italy might be dispatched to defend him against Antiochus, or that he should be excused for abandoning the affairs of Greece, at a crisis peculiar threatening to his hereditary kingdom. The Romans replied, that they could not employ their forces against Antiochus, that prince being their ally; but would send to him an embassy, desiring him to relinquish all hostile designs against Attalus, who was also in alliance with them; that kings, friends to the Romans, ought to live in friendship with each other.[2] In consequence of remonstrances from Rome, joined to another cause still more powerful, Antiochus withdrew from Lesser Asia, and Attalus continued to prosecute unremittingly the war against Philip, both by arms and negociation, until he fell a martyr to his zeal, and breathed out his soul with his voice, in arraigning the common foe before the assembled Bœotians.

Stopped partly by negociation. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

War in Syria.

The cause that made Antiochus return hastily towards Syria, originated in Egypt. Those who

[2] Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 8.

governed that country during the nonage of Ptolemy Epiphanes, had beheld with much regret the dismemberment of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia from their master's kingdom. Hopeless of recovering these provinces by cowardly Egyptians and degenerate Alexandrian Greeks, they had recourse to Scopas, formerly, as we have seen, pretor of the Etolians, but who restless and discontented at home, had come to Egypt in quest of riches and preferment. Scopas was sent back into Greece loaded with money, and with assurances of tempting pay to as many of his countrymen as he could engage to follow his standard. He returned to Egypt at the head of six thousand warlike Etolians, whom, without waiting the usual season for taking the field, he immediately conducted in the winter to the mountains of Cœle-Syria and Judæa. His invasion was not to be resisted by the feeble garrisons left there by Antiochus. Most parts of the coast, as well as the inland cities, submitted to his arms; and many of them experienced all the severity with which war was carried on by the most rapacious and relentless of enemies. Antiochus, when apprised of these proceedings, hastened from Lesser Asia into Syria, attacked the Etolians and Scopas, now reinforced by numerous bands of Egyptians; defeated them in a great battle at the foot of mount Panius near the sources of the Jordan, drove them from the field, and the most important of their strongholds; and at length shut up Scopas himself, with ten thousand of his men, in Sidon. That

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Olymp. cxlv. 1—3. B. C. 200—198.

Battle of Panius.

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city made an obstinate resistance, but was compelled by famine to capitulate. The Etolians and Egyptians only bargained for their lives; and were allowed to return unarmed and half naked into Egypt.[3]

Antiochus's friendship with the Jews. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

On this occasion the Jews, instead of opposing Antiochus, greatly facilitated his success. Enraged at the mad impiety of Ptolemy Philopator, and exasperated by the recent rapacity of the Etolians, the inferior cities of Judæa as well as the capital itself, with its temple and castle, readily opened their gates to a milder and more magnanimous master. Antiochus, to confirm their good will, and to heighten the contrast between himself and the persecuting Philopator, published an edict prohibiting all strangers from entering the temple of Jerusalem. Many Jews from Palæstine as well as many of their brethren from Babylonia, were settled by him in Lydia, Phrygia, and other districts of doubtful allegiance, because surrounded by the territories of his enemies. In all such places, Antiochus relied on the firmness and fidelity of the Jews, and continually reinforced their colonies[4]; a circumstance which accounts for the great numbers of that nation scattered over Lesser Asia in the first age of christianity.

Politic views of Antiochus.

Having settled the affairs of the provinces, which he had thus successfully recovered, An-

[3] Polybius, l. xvi. c. 39. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.
[4] Josephus, Antiq. Judiac. l. xii. c. 3.

tiochus went into winter quarters at Antioch, but prepared early in the spring for renewing hostilities with the utmost vigour. His sons Ardyes and Mithridates, hereditary names in the family of the king of Pontus to whose daughter he had been twenty-three years married, were sent before him at the head of a great army to Sardes: he took on himself the command of his fleet, amounting to more than a hundred gallies, with which he reduced the maritime cities along the southern coast of the peninsula, as far as Coracesium in Cilicia. While this place detained him before its walls, he received from Rhodes an embassy memorable for the boldness with which this diminutive republic ventured to defy a mighty monarch. The Rhodians, adopting the stile of Athens in the meridian of her power, forbade Antiochus, as the Athenians had done Artaxerxes[5], to pass with an armed force beyond the Chelidonian isles. If he transgressed these boundaries, which lay opposite to Coracesium at the western entrance of the same bay, the Rhodians said, that they would oppose him with their utmost might. The king, dissembling his indignation, replied, that he had no hostile intentions against Rhodes, and that he was on good terms with its Roman allies: he added, that the Rhodians would soon receive from him an embassy in return, to remove every cause of jealousy.[6] Through these pacific declarations and succes-

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Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C. 197.

[5] History of Ancient Greece, c. xii.

[6] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 20. Conf. Polyb. l. xviii. c. 22—24.

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sive missions to Rhodes and to Rome, he endeavoured to lull the suspicions of states, which, being themselves deeply engaged in the war against Philip, were not on their part unwilling to temporise. In whatever manner the fortune of that war should be decided, Antiochus expected to turn the event to his advantage. Should the Romans be repelled from Greece, their Rhodian and Pergamenian allies would no longer have courage to oppose his usurpations in Lesser Asia; should Philip's power, on the contrary, be greatly reduced by the war, the representative of Seleucas Nicator might revive with good success his claims on Macedon. With these views, Antiochus sailed round to Ephesus, and made that harbour the principal station for his fleet: his land army lay at Sardes: and, that he might have no disturbance on his southern frontier, while he carried on his great designs in the west, he entered into a friendly correspondence with the regency of Egypt, and concluded a treaty of marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Ptolemy Epiphanes, then in his eleventh year, stipulating that when the young prince was of an age to consummate the nuptials, Cleopatra should bring him for her dower the restored allegiance of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia.[7]

Philip repels the Dardanians.

Meanwhile Philip, who had vainly expected assistance from his Syrian ally, was defeated in the decisive battle of Kynoscephalæ, and

[7] Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 17. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

allowed a truce of four months to negociate his peace with Rome. He had scarcely obtained this boon from the proconsul Quintius, when, as if no respite had been doomed to his exertions, he was obliged to hasten from Thessaly into Macedon, to repel an incursion of the Dardanians, his hereditary foes. These Barbarians availed themselves of his absence, to break into his northern frontier, and to carry their devastations through the richest parts of his kingdom. Philip, at the head of six thousand infantry and five hundred horse, surprised and routed their main body at Stobi in Pæonia; and then directed his arms against many predatory parties scattered over the country. The Dardanians were defeated on all sides[8]: most of them were put to the sword; a remnant escaped in trepidation into their own forests and mountains, carrying with them thither the terror of the Macedonian name.

Olymp. cxlv. 4. B. C. 197.

His losses in Peloponnesus.

After this fortunate expedition, Philip went into winter quarters at Thessalonica, formerly Therma, at the inmost recess of the Thermaic gulph, anxiously awaiting the return of his ambassadors from Rome. During the interval between the battle of Kynoscephalæ and the conclusion of peace, his success against the Dardanians was the principal circumstance that chequered the general gloom of his fortune. In the Peloponnesus, in Greece beyond the Isthmus, and on the coasts of Lesser Asia,

[8] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 19.

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his enemies were every where triumphant; for though the Romans had granted him a truce, this did not suspend the exertions of their Achæan and Rhodian allies. Androsthenes, now commanding for him in Peloponnesus, was encountered by the Achæans at Cleonæ, near the eastern bank of the Nemea, a river dividing the territories of Corinth and Sicyon, and so named because it flows into the Corinthian gulph from the district Nemea in Argolis, renowned for the Nemean games. The Achæans were commanded by Nicostratus, then pretor, a general of abilities and enterprise. He totally defeated Androsthenes, killed fifteen hundred of his men, and made three hundred prisoners. The remains of the discomfited army threw themselves into Corinth, the only retreat for them now open in all Peloponnesus.[9]

Submission of the Acarnanians. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C. 197.

In Greece beyond the Isthmus, the only nations adverse to the Roman cause were the Acarnanians and Bœotians, the former from fidelity to their ancient alliance with Philip, and their high sense of honour[10]; the latter from sentiments and principles of a quite contrary complexion. With uncommon bravery, seconded by skill and perseverance, the Acar-

[9] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 14. et seq. Philocles, who held Corinth for Philip, had afforded grounds for suspecting his fidelity; and fatally betrayed his master, as will be hereafter seen, in a concern still dearer to him than the Corinthian citadel. Philip's suspicions of Philocles had made him commit his army in the field, about 6000 men, to Androsthenes; but he durst not punish, and feared to offend his Corinthian governor.

[10] Polybius, l. iv. c. 30.

nanians in their capital Leucas, opposed the proconsul's brother, who had attacked them with his fleet from Corcyra; nor did they think of capitulation, until they learned the fatal issue of the battle of Kynoscephalæ. Upon this melancholy intelligence, the capital, as well as all the inferior cities of Acarnania, craved the protection of the victors.[11]

Factions in Bœotia.—Assassination of the pretor Brachylles. Olymp. cxlvi. 1. B.C. 196.

We have seen in a former chapter[12], how the Bœotians were surprised into a reluctant alliance with Rome. But Brachylles, their banished pretor, with many of his adherents, having followed the fortunes of Philip, had been taken among other prisoners in the service of that prince. Upon an application to the proconsul from the commonwealth of Bœotia, these prisoners were restored to their country rather through policy than generosity; for Quintius, who was apprised of the movements of Antiochus, foresaw approaching hostilities on the part of that prince, still more dangerous than those just terminated with Philip, and, therefore, thought it incumbent on him to establish throughout Greece, which was likely to be the scene of this new conflict, the fair renown of the Romans, not only for warlike valour, but for indulgence and clemency. Brachylles and his partisans had no sooner returned to their country, than its councils were filled with discord. Instead of ascribing their release to the Roman general, they procured a deputation of

[11] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 17.

[12] See above, c. xviii.

CHAP. XIX. their countrymen to thank Philip, as if they had been solely indebted to him for that favour, in which he had really no share. Those of the Bœotians, who adhered to the cause of Rome, were calumniated or insulted; their pretensions were slighted at every competition for office or emolument: and in the room of Zeuxippus, a man highly acceptable to the Romans, Brachylles, chief of the adverse faction, was elected pretor. The defeated party felt the utmost indignation at these proceedings, and complained that, if their adversaries could behave with such insolence, when the legions were at their gates, their condition would be indeed deplorable when these forces should return to Italy, and Bœotia be left at the mercy of the Macedonian faction. Zeuxippus knew no better method both for removing the immediate grievance, and warding off the apprehended danger, than the destruction of Brachylles. He proposed his assassination to Quintius; but the Roman declined participation in the crime. Brachylles, however, was assassinated, as he returned from a drunken festival surrounded by a crowd of buffoons and parasites, wretches contemptible for their profligacy in the most profligate of all the Greek commonwealths. His murderers were three Italians and three Etolians, who escaped undiscovered in the throng; and, as the death of Brachylles only encreased the evils for which it had been deemed the remedy, Zeuxippus, the instigator of it, fled for refuge to Athens: Pisistratus, the most noted

of his adherents, was accused, seized, and executed.[12]

Romans in Bœotia robbed and murdered.

But the death of one of the conspirators and the banishment of the other, did not satisfy the Bœotians for the loss of their pretor Brachylles. They felt the most implacable animosity to the Romans, whom they regarded as accomplices in his murder, and as the original authors of all their own misfortunes. Conscious of total inability to carry on an open war, they determined to have recourse to vengeance more secret, but not less effectual. While the proconsul kept his head-quarters at Elatæa in Phocis, his soldiers were indulged with furloughs to travel through the neighbouring districts, that they might, as inclination prompted them, gratify their curiosity or supply their wants. Of those who in such excursions entered the territory of Bœotia, few were allowed to return: they were waylaid by assassins in secret lurking-places; sometimes they were decoyed to shops and taverns designedly left empty for the purpose of murder. As the Roman soldiers were well provided with money, avarice extended the havoc which vengeance had begun; and not less than five hundred of them were missing. Quintius sent ambassadors into Bœotia, accompanied with a proper detachment of troops, to enquire into the robberies and murders which he suspected. Many dead bodies were dis-

[12] Conf. Polybius, l. xviii. c. 26. l. xx. c. 7. l. xxiii. c. 2. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 27, 28.

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covered in the lake Copais, into which they had been sunk by weights for concealment. The cities of Coronæa and Acræphia, in the neighbourhood of that lake, were found to have infamously distinguished themselves above all other places in Bœotia, in these deeds of darkness. Quintius demanded from the general council of Bœotia, that the assassins should be punished; and that a talent[13] should be paid for each Roman soldier that had disappeared. The Bœotians refused compliance, on pretence that, as nothing had been done by general consent, the public ought not to be punished for the crimes of individuals. The proconsul, therefore, after sending an embassy to the Achæans and Athenians to justify his resumption of arms, invaded the territory of Coronæa and Acræphia, and prepared to assault these obnoxious cities. In this extremity the Bœotians thought proper to submit to the condition required of them, only obtaining a mitigation of the mulct through the intercession of the Achæans[14], and the proconsul withdrew to his former quarters at Elatæa, after committing the government of Bœotia to such persons as he had the least reason to distrust.

Operations of the Rhodians against Philip's general in Caria.

During these proceedings of the Romans in Greece, their Rhodian allies had been diligent to avail themselves of Philip's defeat at Kynoscephalæ. They collected an army composed of Europeans, Asiatics, and even of many unknown

[13] 193*l.* 15*s.* [14] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 29.

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Olymp. cxlv. 4. B.C 197.

nations of Africa, with all of whom their industrious island had been long linked in the bonds of amity and commerce; and invaded the Macedonian conquests in Caria, particularly the maritime district of Peræa, which Philip in the height of his power had wrested from their republic. A battle was fought at Alabanda, in which the Rhodians obtained a decisive victory.[15] The strong-holds of Stratonicæa and Bargyliæ saved the discomfited army, and were so ably defended by Dinocrates, Philip's general in Caria, that they continued to hold out, until assailed shortly afterwards by Antiochus, who treated with equal disregard the rights of the Rhodians his enemies, and of Philip his ally.

Articles of peace brought to Philip from Rome. Olymp. cxlvi. 1. B.C. 196.

Amidst these various events, all of them so adverse to Philip, his ambassadors returned from Rome; and together with them, ten commissioners sent by the senate to assist Quintius in adjusting terms of peace with Macedon. The commissioners, among whom the Romans had taken care to send Sulpicius and Villius, who had successively commanded armies in Illyricum and Greece, repaired to the proconsul at his head-quarters in Elatæa, to which place he had just returned after punishing the crimes of the Bœotians. In this Phocian city, the conditions of peace were specified, of which only the outline had been drawn by the senate, but of which the particular articles had been left to the discretion of Quintius and his assessors. Assuming

[15] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 18.

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their complete rights as conquerors, these officers prescribed, that before the Isthmian games, the celebration of which was fast approaching, Philip should surrender to them those cities in Greece still held by his garrisons; that all others in that country should be declared free; that his detachments should be withdrawn from Thrace, from the narrow seas, and from Caria; and that the republics in those parts should resume their ancient laws and liberties. Philip was farther required to restore all prisoners and deserters; to surrender his ships of war, except five small vessels, and a galley of sixteen banks of oars, destined rather for ostentation than use; and to pay a thousand talents, one-half of that sum immediately, the remainder in the course of ten years. His son Demetrius was to remain at Rome until these conditions were fulfilled.[16]

Isthmian games.—Proclamation of the liberties of Greece. Olymp. cxlvi. 1. B.C. 196.

Meantime the Isthmian games were at hand, a solemnity always crowded by spectators, both from the fondness of the Greeks for such shows, and from the central scene of exhibition. The Romans, also, were on this occasion to be present, from whom the Greeks expected publicly to hear their fate; and this circumstance, producing the deepest interest, brought vast accessions to the solemnity. Before the time appointed for the games, Quintius with the commissioners proceeded from Elatæa to Anticyra, and from thence sailed to Corinth. The religious ceremonies had been performed; the

[16] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30.

spectators had taken their seats; and the combatants were prepared to display their accustomed feats of strength and activity. A herald, as usual, proceeded into the middle of the arena, but, being previously instructed by Quintius, instead of declaring, as on ordinary occasions, well known particulars concerning the games and those offering to contend in them, he proclaimed with a loud and clear voice in the name of the Romans and Titus Quintius their general, complete liberty, both civil and political, to the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, the island of Eubœa, and the four districts of Thessaly: thus particularising those communities that had longest submitted to the dominion of Macedon. The joy was greater than the minds of men could contain. Their sympathy with each other heightened its intensity. The herald was ordered by them to repeat sounds so pleasing to their ears; at the distinct hearing of which, the whole assembly was in commotion: the wrestlers, musicians, and rhapsodists disappeared, the noise of acclamation resounded from the two seas of Corinth, and such multitudes advanced to thank and salute the proconsul, that nothing short of the vigour of youth (he was then in his thirty-third year) and the alacrity derived from seeing his labours rewarded with so much public happiness, could have saved him from being overwhelmed and stifled by their cumbersome kindness. For many succeeding days, the games being hastily slurred over without exciting inte-

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rest, or even meeting with attention[17], the deputies of the several states were solely occupied in congratulating each other, and in decreeing crowns and statues[18] to Quintius and the Romans; men who had passed the seas, and by their own exertions and dangers, unlocked the chains of Greece, and restored to that country its hereditary freedom. The generosity of those remote strangers appeared in the more striking light, when contrasted with the selfish policy of Alexander's successors, who, though Greeks themselves, had so often deluded their unhappy brethren with unsubstantial prospects of liberty, only to plunge them the deeper into real servitude. But there was a nation, it seemed, in the western world, raised up by the bounty of heaven, to diffuse the inestimable blessings which itself enjoyed; to fight against unjust domination, wherever it prevailed; and to spare neither labour, nor treasure, nor blood, to defend the cause of the injured.[19]

Embassies from the Greek kings, particularly Antiochus.

To the celebration of the Isthmian games, which was regarded as the scene not merely of amusement, there had come ambassadors from Antiochus, Philip, Eumenes, and all the kings who, either from affection or policy, claimed connection with Greece. These ambassadors, as well as deputies from the several republics,

17 Plutarch. in Flamin.

18 Appian, l. ix. c. 2.

19 Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 33. The glorious praise once due to the Athenians :—

Αιει ποτε ἦτε πολις τοις αμηχανοις
Συν τῳ δικαιῳ βȣλεται προσωφελειν. Euripides.

had most of them very serious affairs to transact with the proconsul; and, according to the custom of antiquity, their transactions were public. From respect to so great a prince, the minister sent by Antiochus was heard first. The object of his commission was to persuade Quintius and his assessors, that the king of Syria wished to maintain peace with the Romans and their allies. But his professions on this subject were belied by the evidence of facts. Antiochus, when he advanced westward to the Grecian sea, had no sooner found that Philip was defeated at Kynoscephalæ, than he hastened to invade his possessions in Caria and Mysia, and had made himself master of Bargyliæ in the former province, and of Abydus in the latter. These proceedings were highly displeasing to Rome, which purposed to emancipate the cities of Caria, and to restore them to their ancient confederacy with the Rhodians; and which had not ordered Abydus, and other places near the Hellespont, to be evacuated by Philip, that strong-holds so important, because commanding the passage between Asia and Europe, might be seized by a prince equally ambitious and still more powerful. Quintius therefore answered the Syrian ambassador without any of that reserve or ambiguity, which had been deemed prudent before the humiliation of the king of Macedon. He told him, that Antiochus must relinquish his unjust conquests; that he must abstain from all vexations of the Greeks in Asia; and that he must no longer entertain the design, which his usurpations near

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the narrow seas made manifest, of passing personally into Europe, or of sending an army thither.[20] After thus dismissing the Syrian, Quintius found little difficulty in settling all affairs amicably with the ambassadors of the other kings as well as with the Greek deputies.[21]

Complaints of of the Etolians.

Those of the Etolians alone, exclaimed against the terms of peace. They said that, while many distant commonwealths in Asia were to be restored to their ancient independence, the cities in Proper Greece, garrisoned by Philip, were to be surrendered to the Romans; and that this, in effect, was nothing but a transfer from one master to another: at the same time they complained of their own unworthy treatment, boasting that, without their assistance, the Romans could neither have defeated the king of Macedon, nor even have set foot in Greece.[22] These remonstrances, not altogether absurd, might have had some weight, had they come from any other quarter. But all knew, that the Etolians were provoked at not being allowed to recover those fortresses in the territories of their neighbours, from which they had formerly carried on their depredations; and none could imagine for a moment, that any generous concern for the public safety actuated a people whose insolence, rapacity, and cruelty, rendered them a disgrace to the Grecian name.

[20] Polyb. l. xviii. c. 30. [21] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 34.
[22] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 35.

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Transactions of the Roman commissioners. — Cornelius's advice to Philip and to the Etolians.

After the business of the assembly was concluded, Quintius still remained in Corinth, that he might superintend the complete execution of the treaty in that and the neighbouring districts. Most of the Roman commissioners dispersed, for the same purpose, to Thrace, to Caria, to the camps of Antiochus and of Philip. Cneius Cornelius, who was sent to the latter prince, after settling with him affairs of less moment, asked whether he might give him an advice that appeared highly seasonable and salutary. Philip replied, that nothing could please him more. Cornelius then said, "as the Romans are likely to be soon embroiled with Antiochus, it will be right to send ambassadors to the senate, that the peace which you have just obtained may be followed by a closer intimacy and real confidential friendship; otherwise the Romans may suspect that, notwithstanding your declared purpose of maintaining peace, you only lie in wait for a favourable opportunity of co-operating with your ancient ally." Philip hearkened to the counsel, expressed his gratitude to the giver of it, and sent his ambassadors to Rome.[23] From Tempé, where this conference was held, Cornelius crossed about seventy miles over Greece to Thermum, the ancient capital of Etolia, and the stated place of convention for the deputies of that district. The Etolians complained in their usual offensive strain, that the Romans behaved to them now, with a degree of haughtiness

[23] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 35.

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which they had not assumed during the dependance of the Macedonian war. Without entering into any altercation on that subject, Cornelius said coldly, that, if in any particular they thought themselves aggrieved, they should send ambassadors to Rome; every equitable request would be granted by the senate. The Etolians, because they saw nothing better, consented to have recourse to this measure.[24]

Antiochus's generals besiege Smyrna and Lampsacus. Olymp. cxlvi 1. B.C. 196.

Meanwhile Antiochus, though he talked only of peace, continued to prosecute his conquests in Lesser Asia. Even the free cities on the western coast, which had entered into treaties with his ancestors on a footing of equality, either submitted to his arms, or were kept in a state of siege both by sea and land. Smyrna and Lampsacus still continued to make a vigorous resistance, and Antiochus spared no exertions to take them, because the former encouraged what he called rebellion in all the neighbouring commonwealths of Ionia, and the latter inspired the same stubborn spirit into the cities in its vicinity around the narrow seas. But the impatience of a haughty mind, intoxicated by a long flow of prosperity, made him commit a work of time and perseverance to his generals. While they employed arms and negociation against Smyrna and Lampsacus, the king crossed[25] the Hellespont into Thrace, and made himself master of the Chersonesus, a valuable slip of

His Thracian expedition.

[24] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 35.

[25] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 32. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 38.

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land about fifty miles long, and fifteen broad, adorned by eleven Greek cities[26], and which, though secured on the land side by a wall across the Isthmus of thirty-seven furlongs, was altogether defenceless against a naval armament. Having effected this conquest, Antiochus set himself to repair Lysimachia, which then lay in ruins at the neck of the Chersonesus. This city, which commemorated the name and transient empire of Lysimachus, had been destroyed by the Thracians; and though repeatedly rebuilt, had been as often demolished by those barbarians, who looked on it with hostile jealousy as a bulwark raised to controul their savage independence. That no disturbance might be given to his workmen by those fierce tribes, Antiochus marched into their country, and repressed their perpetual tendency to aggression by making them feel the power of his arms.

Conferences with the Roman commissioners at Lysimachia.

At his return to Lysimachia, he was joined by the Roman commissioners. The king received them politely and hospitably, as the agents of a state with which he wished to live in peace; and civilities were not interrupted on either side, until a convention assembled for the discussion of public affairs. In this convention, Antiochus was assisted by the same ministers, whom he had before employed as ambassadors to the proconsul Quintius: the Roman commissioners not only from Thrace, but from Caria, were pre-

26 History of Ancient Greece, Part I. c. xxvii.

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sent: there came deputies also from the besieged cities Smyrna and Lampsacus. The Romans did not dissemble, that the whole of the king's proceedings, since he had in the former year left Antioch, were highly offensive to their republic. They told him that all his usurpations must be abandoned on Egypt, their ancient ally, and on Macedon, of late become their tributary. Antiochus replied, that with Ptolemy the young king of Egypt, he had settled all differences, and betrothed to that prince his daughter Cleopatra. That as to the cities, in Caria or in Thrace, which were claimed either by Ptolemy or by Philip, they had been unjustly wrested from his ancestors, during the distractions of the Syrian monarchy. But he had determined to vindicate his undoubted rights as successor to Seleucus Nicator, and was now repairing Lysimachia which belonged to the heirs of Seleucus by virtue of his victory over Lysimachus. "That unfortunate city, once the seat of a great kingdom, had been levelled to the ground by hostile barbarians, unrelenting foes to every noble pursuit and every praiseworthy art. But he had resolved in spite of their blind fury, that Lysimachia should resume its pristine splendour, and contain the palace of his younger son Seleucus, whose name alone asserted fair pretensions to dominion over Thrace." "The Romans," he thought, "were too busy with their remonstrances; he concerned not himself about their transactions in Italy, he knew not why they should interfere unseasonably in the

affairs of Asia." To this speech of the king, the deputies of Smyrna began to reply; but as they treated his pretensions with great freedom, and proceeded in strong terms to arraign his injustice, still addressing themselves to the Roman commissioners, Antiochus said, that he would no longer hear such language. Had it become necessary to discuss his interests before judges, he would have chosen for umpires not the Romans, but the Rhodians, an Asiatic power; and thus saying, he angrily dissolved the assembly.[27]

Rumour of the murder of young Ptolemy—Antiochus's proceedings thereon. Olymp. cxlvi. 1. B. C. 196.

A report at this time reached Lysimachia, which engrossed the attention of both parties, and hindered them from thinking of any future meeting. The intelligence was conveyed both to Antiochus and the Romans that young Ptolemy, had been cut off by conspiracy at Alexandria.[28] We shall explain presently the cause of this rumour, which, being believed on both sides, was on both carefully concealed, each party hastening to profit by the event. Antiochus entrusted to his son Seleucus the affairs of Thrace, sent an embassy to the proconsul Quintius, and sailed with nearly his whole fleet towards Egypt, already grasping in fancy the vacant throne as his own. At Patara in Lycia, he first learned the falsehood of the report: a mutiny among his sailors detained him on the coast of Pamphylia. To appease this sedition, and compensate for his own disappointment, he

[27] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 32. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 39.

[28] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 4.

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purposed to invade and plunder the rich island of Cyprus, then dependent on Egypt, but was assailed by a storm near the coast of Cilicia, which destroyed the best part of his fleet. With the remainder, he sailed to Seleucia-Pieria, and leaving orders for the repair of his shattered ships, and the rebuilding of new ones in this and the neighbouring harbours of Syria and Phœnicia, he conducted his army into winter quarters at Antioch.[29]

Real conspiracy against Ptolemy—Punishment of its authors.

The report of Ptolemy's murder originated in a conspiracy really formed against that prince by Scopas the Etolian, who, not contented with his immense riches amassed in the service of Egypt, had the presumption to aspire to the throne. But, as his imprudence equalled his audacity, the criminal design was discovered, by Aristomenes the Acarnanian, before it was ripe for execution; and Scopas was surprised, seized, and put to death with all his accomplices. The most noted of these accomplices was Dicæarchus, a sea commander formerly employed by Philip of Macedon, who, when he sailed against the unfortunate islands called Cyclades, erected altars to impiety and injustice. Dicæarchus was the only one of the traitors who died by torture; an odious punishment, but never less abominable than when inflicted on his monstrous enormities. Shortly after this transaction, the regency of Egypt celebrated the festival of Ptolemy's coronation before he entered his fifteenth

[29] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 41.

year.[30] It was performed with great magnificence; and Ptolemy thenceforward reigned in his own person, though the government continued to be carried on by the able and faithful Aristomenes.[31]

Quintius's popular proceedings in Greece. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

During these proceedings in the East, Quintius remained with his army in Greece, and enhanced his military fame by his popular manners and his equity. The Romans were so much pleased with his behaviour, that they committed to his management all that remained to be done for tranquillising that country, and rendering it subservient to their views. He had repressed the insolence of the Etolians; he had punished the crimes of the Bœotians; he had completely humbled Philip. But one enemy still remained in the bowels of Greece, without the extirpation of whom, the great work of liberty and security could not be deemed perfect. We have seen how Philip, in the midst of his difficulties, delivered the city of Argos as a deposit into the hands of Nabis, the energetic tyrant of Sparta. Nabis, instantly betrayed his trust, entered into a correspondence with Quintius, supplied that general with a body of troops to act against Macedon, and expected to retain Argos as the reward of his perfidy. To deli-

30 Polybius, l. xviii. c. 38. This was in the 9th from the death of Philopator, or the 9th year of the reign of τȣ νεȣ, "the young king Epiphanes;" according to the famous inscription taken from the French at the surrender of Alexandria, and deposited with other monuments from Egypt in the court of the British Museum, June 1803. Of this more hereafter.

31 Polybius, l. xviii. c. 36—38.

berate on this matter, the proconsul summoned a convention of the allies to Corinth. The Achæans, Athenians, Thessalians, in a word, all the states which had either preserved their independence, or which had been recently emancipated, appeared in this assembly by their deputies: even the Etolians, refractory as they were, did not think fit to be absent. Quintius opened the business, by observing, that, for the war carried on against Philip, the Greeks and Romans had each their separate motives, and had united in punishing a prince notoriously hostile to both. But the question which he now submitted to their decision, was of a nature altogether different, since it concerned the Greeks only: would they allow Argos, a city ancient and noble, and in the very heart of Peloponnesus, to remain a prey to Nabis? This was the subject which he had to propose for their deliberation, determined to be guided in his conduct by the opinion of the majority.[32] Upon this, the chief of the Athenian deputation rose up, and observed, that the generosity of Rome was beyond all praise, which, when its assistance was implored, had defended the Greeks against Philip, and which now, spontaneously, was ready to defend them against a tyrant still more detestable. The orator then vented his indignation against those who, affecting to pry into the secrets of futurity, were disposed to calumniate the Romans for supposed events, never likely

[32] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 22.

to happen, instead of expressing due gratitude for that beneficent and glorious revolution in the affairs of Greece, which had been already most happily effected.

The meanness of the Greeks and selfish policy of the Romans exposed by Alexander the Etolian.

This latter observation, appearing to glance at the Etolians, called up Alexander the Isian. He began by arraigning the Athenians, who, he said, had of late years debased themselves as much by a mean selfishness and the vileness of flattery, as their ancestors had formerly been illustrious for their generous and manly defence of the common interests of public and universal liberty. With regard to the present matter of deliberation, he knew that Argos was only to be taken from Nabis, that it might be given to the Achæans, who had formerly followed the standard of Philip, and who were to receive this boon for shamefully deserting that prince in the time of need; whereas the Etolians, who had always been allies to Rome, and who had never violated their engagements, were deprived of the promised rewards of their signal success against Macedon. In their league with the Romans against that power, it had been stipulated, that all conquered cities and territories should belong to the Etolians; that money, prisoners, moveable property alone, should fall to the share of the Romans: yet that usurping people, while they flattered their allies with a vain shadow of freedom, had occupied with their own garrisons Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, places which, in the hands of Philip, they had called the fetters of Greece.

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Nabis and Argos were only mere pretences for employing their armies abroad, until they had gratified their utmost views of ambition. Let them withdraw their legions to Italy: the Etolians undertook, that Nabis should either voluntarily relinquish Argos, or be compelled by force of arms to submit to the consenting will of Greece.[33]

Answered by Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans.

This speech of Alexander, less absurd than unseasonable, was answered with much indignation by Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans. "Forbid it," he exclaimed, "O Jupiter! and Argive Juno! that a city under your immemorial protection should ever become the impious prize of an ignoble combat between the bloodthirsty tyrant Nabis, and murderous Etolian robbers! If the sea, interposed between us and Etolia, is not sufficient for our defence, how wretched would be our lot, were those unprincipled ruffians to plant themselves in the heart of Peloponnesus? The common interest requires, that, before the Roman armies are withdrawn, not only Argos should be rescued from the hands of Nabis, but measures of the utmost vigour adopted for restraining in future the insufferable enormities of the Etolians." Universal acclamations from all sides of the assembly justified the strong language of Aristænus, and allowed Quintius to maintain a dignified silence. War against Nabis was decreed by general consent: the deputies returned

[33] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 23.

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home to hasten their respective levies; Quintius ordered his lieutenants to march from Elatæa; he sent an ambassador even into Etolia, requiring that state, conformably to the public resolution of the confederates, to raise its contingent of troops in support of the common cause.[34]

Wretched state of Argos. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

Though this requisition was not complied with, the army was one of the most numerous that ever entered Peloponnesus. It proceeded by hasty marches to Argos, and encamped within four miles of the city. The government of the place had been entrusted by Nabis to his son-in-law Pythagoras, who was also his wife's brother; for this complication of domestic ties seemed necessary to fix a brave and able man in a tyrant's service. Pythagoras's fidelity and vigilance were put to the test, even before he encountered the Romans. At the bare rumour of their approach, Damocles, a young Argive, aspired to the fame of liberating his country without the aid of strangers. His design was discovered by Pythagoras, who sent one of his guards to summon him in the midst of his associates. Damocles encouraged them to die with arms in their hands, rather than suffer the pains of torture, unrevenged. They followed him to the market-place, summoning the Argives to liberty. None obeyed the invitation, such was the fear of Pythagoras: the conspirators were overpowered; many slain, and many thrown into confinement, from which several escaped

34 Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 24.

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in the following night, by ropes let down from their prison walls, and sought refuge in the Roman camp. The fugitives affirmed to Quintius that their insurrection would have been crowned with success, had his army been nearer to Argos, and would not even now be without effect, if he advanced in force to the walls. Quintius therefore sent forward a detachment of light armed troops and cavalry, to a place of exercise called Cylabaris, from the tomb of an ancient king of that name, only three hundred paces from the city. But, instead of a rising of the townsmen in his favour, a party of the garrison made a spirited sally. The Lacedæmonians, however, after a stout combat, were repelled, and Quintius encamped the same day on the field of battle. Having waited twenty-four hours longer, without perceiving any symptoms of commotion in Argos, he called a council to deliberate whether he should proceed to an assault. Most of the allies strongly urged that measure, but Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans, was anxious to prevent the destruction of an ancient and venerable city, which he hoped might soon be reunited to the Achæan league. Quintius also was unwilling to sully his fair laurels by such an invidious undertaking. It was determined therefore to attack the tyrant in Laconia itself, on the presumption that when his own kingdom became the seat of a desolating war, Argos could not long be retained in subjection by him.[35]

[35] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 35. et seq.

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War in Laconia against the tyrant Nabis. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B.C. 195.

For making this attack, by sea as well as land, the proconsul called his brother Lucius, with forty galleys, from the harbours of Acarnania: half that number of ships was brought by Sosilaus, admiral of the Rhodians: Eumenes of Pergamus, emulating the active zeal of his father Attalus, sailed with ten stout galleys to the Cyclades, accompanied by more than thirty vessels of a smaller size. While this armament invaded the sea-coast of Laconia, and gained possession of one harbour after another, Quintius conducted his army towards Sparta, in which city Nabis had fortified himself by new bulwarks. His mercenaries consisted of outlaws, fugitives, emancipated slaves, and devoted bands of Cretans; for with Crete, the tyrant had long maintained an intimate correspondence, and even gained possession of several districts in that island, which supplied him with instruments the fittest for his purposes. With upwards of twenty thousand of such troops, still more formidable by their quality than their numbers, Nabis had embodied reluctant crowds of armed rustics from all parts of Laconia; and his son-in-law Pythagoras, equally distinguished by zeal and enterprise, had contrived, after the proconsul's departure from Argos, to drain with safety the garrison of that place, and to throw himself with three thousand men into Sparta. In advancing thither, the proconsul, contrary to his expectation, found the narrow roads unoccupied. But this was the tyrant's stratagem for throwing him off his guard, and which so

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far succeeded, that the Romans were surprised by a sudden sally, while they took up ground for their encampment. In moving from the northern to the southern side of the city, they were again attacked with great fury; and though both sallies were victoriously repelled, their boldness taught Quintius what obstinate resistance must be encountered. He fixed his camp at Amyclæ, a few miles south of Sparta, and after desolating that beautiful and rich district [36], directed his ravages against the valley under mount Taygetus, and extended them from thence to the sea. These movements brought him into the neighbourhood of his brother, who was employed in the siege of Gythium, the principal harbour of Laconia. The place had been defended with the utmost obstinacy, and still made such vigorous resistance, that Quintius allowed the garrison to capitulate. The news of the capture of Gythium, and that his soldiers had been granted their lives, turned the thoughts of Nabis towards peace. [37]

Conference of Quintius with Nabis. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

Upon demand made by a herald, he was allowed to send ambassadors to the allied camp. He sent only Pythagoras; and with one sole request, that he might be admitted to a conference with the Roman general. The place appointed was a plain, overlooked on both sides by rising grounds, on which select bodies of troops from either party took their station. The

[36] History of Ancient Greece, pt. i. c. 14.
[37] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 27. et seq.

tyrant came attended by a few of his life-guards: the proconsul was accompanied by his brother Lucius, by king Eumenes, by Sosilaus admiral of the Rhodians, and by Aristænus the Achæan pretor. Nabis began by reproaching the Romans with inconstancy, in having formerly accepted him for an ally, and, without the smallest offence on his part, in now treating him as an enemy. "You formerly called me king, I am now denominated a tyrant! because, forsooth, I have given liberty to slaves, and divided small portions of land to the poor who wanted bread. Do not, Quintius, estimate the Spartan institutions by your own. You Romans hold the multitude in no account, and consider the many as made for the conveniency of the few. Lycurgus was of a different mind; and by equalising possessions and honours, sought to diffuse patriotism and valour through the community at large. Yet, by whatever title you may call me, I am the same man with whom you before treated amicably; nor have my circumstances, since that time, undergone the smallest alteration." In this speech Nabis played the sophist; but in the character of sophist, Quintius was not to be outdone by him. Accordingly, in making his reply, the Roman affirmed that his former transaction with Nabis ought not to be considered in the light of a treaty, since no friendly engagement could take place between the deliverers of Greece from slavery, and the fiercest and most sanguinary of usurpers. The Romans had not crossed the seas to free from

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the dominion of Philip, Jassus, Bargyliæ, and other places almost unknown in history, and at the same time to leave at the mercy of Nabis, Argos and Lacedæmon, two illustrious luminaries of Peloponnesus. They meant to render their work complete, and to punish the violator of every law essential to society, who had the impudence to justify his enormities by the misapplied example of Lycurgus; an example preposterous in the mouth of one who had filled the best regulated commonwealths with rapine and murder; who had usurped Messené, a city in alliance with Rome; and who, infesting by his piracies the seas round the Malian promontory, had rendered them more dangerous than were the coasts of Macedon in the time of open war with Philip. By two things chiefly a state of hostility with any nation is manifested; a co-operation with its declared foes, and the commission of injuries against its allies; in both respects Nabis was criminal, since he had assisted Philip, and possessed himself of Messené by force of arms.[38]

When Quintius had ended, Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans, affecting compassion for Nabis, exhorted him to avert approaching ruin, by relinquishing his unjust acquisitions, and abdicating his illegal authority. To determine him to this latter resolution, he mentioned several examples of usurpers, not less unjust than himself, who by a return to the

[38] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 32.

paths of rectitude, had, after divesting themselves of their ill-gotten power, lived to old age, beloved and honoured by their fellow-citizens. Nabis said, in reply, that he was ready to meet the wish of the Romans, and to withdraw his garrison from Argos. As to the other conditions required of him, he desired to have them in writing, that there might be leisure to discuss them with his friends.[39]

Different views of Quintius and of his allies — his address in bringing them over to his sentiments.

This being readily granted, the proconsul, in the meantime, summoned a council of his allies. They unanimously exhorted him to persevere in hostility, until the complete destruction of the enemy, since the war ought never to have been undertaken, unless it were to be brought to this issue, because any accommodation that could be entered into with Nabis, would only tend to sanction his tyranny. But Quintius had other views. The difficulties which he had encountered in gaining Gythium, made him sensible of the waste of time and labour necessary for the conquest of Sparta. Villius, besides, had just returned from Antiochus, with accounts of the mighty preparations of that prince; if the Roman forces were occupied in a tedious blockade, what was to hinder Antiochus, who had again invaded Thrace, from passing southward, and after he had disarmed the resentment of Philip, from entering Greece, and possessing himself of its strong-holds? These and other arguments urged by Quintius proved ineffectual; his allies continued eager

[39] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 33.

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for prosecuting the war against Nabis to the utmost extremity, and for undertaking without delay the siege of Sparta. Seeing it impossible to alter this resolution by direct means, Quintius had recourse to that oblique dexterity, in which he was a consummate master. With my hearty concurrence, he said, you shall attack Sparta, and destroy the tyrant in his capital. But you will consider that, though we have advanced our army to the walls, there has been no commotion, no symptom of revolt in the city. The place, strong in itself, and defended by a numerous, firm, and well provided garrison, must be conquered by a long and difficult siege. We have desolated the circumjacent country; our provisions must be brought from a distance; great expence must be incurred for the weapons and engines requisite in so arduous an enterprise. The winter, besides, is at hand, which will augment all our difficulties; do you therefore write home to your respective states, to know what supplies of money and corn they can conveniently furnish, before we engage in an undertaking which, if once begun, it will be disgraceful to relinquish. Quintius thus recalled the several allies to a sense of their domestic evils; the emptiness of their public treasuries, the slowness and uncertainty of private contributions, the supine negligence of many who remained at home, together with their invidious misrepresentations of those who served abroad; above all, the extreme difficulty of procuring any thing like unanimity and concord,

in the present tumultuary ferment of newly recovered freedom.[40]

Terms granted to Nabis. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

The considerations wrought such a sudden change in their minds, that they requested the Roman general to adjust matters speedily with Nabis. Accordingly, Quintius granted to him a truce of six months, on condition that he should evacuate the Argive and Messenian territories; restore to their several countries all prisoners and deserters; surrender all his shipping, except a few boats; divest himself of his possessions in Crete, and no longer maintain any connection with that island; deliver five hostages such as the Romans thought proper to name, and among them Armenes his only son; and that he should pay down one hundred talents immediately, and stipulate to pay an annual contribution of fifty talents for the term of eight years. To these articles it was added, that Nabis should restore their wives and children and effects to the exiled Lacedæmonians. Of those unhappy men there were many now following the Roman camp; and among them Agesipolis, who, if the ancient government had subsisted, would have been one of the rightful kings of Sparta: their wives, whom Nabis had subjected to the embraces of his ruffians and slaves, were by this treaty to be recovered by them, with the express condition, however, that no woman against her own will, should be sent back to her husband.[41]

[40] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 54, et seq. [41] Id. ibid.

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Assault of Sparta.—Resisted by setting the city on fire.

When the harsh terms of peace were made known at Sparta, they enflamed the tyrant's partisans with all the madness of anger. Nabis himself could not endure the thoughts of surrendering his shipping, and thereby relinquishing all hopes of recovering the maritime districts, which he had found by experience to be the nursery of men fittest for his purpose. When he perceived the violence of the popular current, he craftily augmented its force, by loading the treaty with many fictitious conditions of far greater rigour. The multitude encouraged him to spurn such a disgraceful peace, as worse than the most disastrous war: "fortune would favour their bravery; before Sparta could be taken, Antiochus and the Etolians would come to their assistance, and enable them to repel an enemy equally inexorable and insatiable." The tumult and hurry of men running to mount the bulwarks, first taught the proconsul that all thoughts of accommodation were laid aside. Several days were consumed by him in examining the assailable parts of the city; in repressing some furious sallies; and in drawing to his camp the forces that had been employed against the sea-coast of Laconia. When his whole army was reunited, it did not fall short of fifty thousand men. As delay in the present state of his affairs, might be attended with great inconvenience, he determined on making a general assault, and attacking the city on all sides at once, by escalade, by fire, and by batteries. His men gained access into the place; they cut

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down the Lacedæmonians who opposed them in the streets; Nabis's mercenaries were repelled, and the tyrant abandoning all for lost, was only anxious about his personal safety. But in this emergency, his dauntless son-in-law Pythagoras, retaining his presence of mind and activity, raised a skilful conflagration in such fit places, that the Romans who had proceeded farthest, were in danger of being intercepted by it, while those left behind were prevented from advancing to their rescue. Under these circumstances, Quintius sounded a retreat and relinquished his hold of a city which he wished to take, not to destroy.[42]

Nabis obtains peace. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

During the following days, the besieged were kept in such perpetual alarm that it seemed adviseable to admit the propositions that had formerly been rejected. To intimate this disposition, Pythagoras, who, as occasion required, could act the highest or the lowest parts, came to crave an audience of the proconsul. He was at first commanded to quit the camp: but obtained a hearing by vilely prostrating himself on the ground at Quintius's feet with tears of the humblest supplication. In this manner he procured peace on the terms originally proposed; the money and hostages were immediately sent to the Roman general.[43]

Argos recovers liberty. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

About the same time that Sparta thus submitted, Argos obtained liberty. The Argives had been apprised of the danger of the former

[42] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 37—39. [43] Ibid. c. 40.

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city, and the ruin ready to fall on Nabis. Pythagoras had withdrawn the best part of the garrison that bridled them. At the summons of their townsman Archippus, they flew to arms, and overwhelmed the Lacedæmonians still left in the citadel; but even in the midst of tumult and blood, respected the obligations of gratitude, by dismissing unhurt their governor Timocrates, an Achæan exile of Pellené, because he had behaved mildly in the exercise of power.[44] Thus successful in Peloponnesus, Quintius prepared to conduct his army northwards to their former quarters at Elatæa in Phocis. His brother Lucius, king Eumenes, and Sosilaus admiral of the Rhodians, joined their respective fleets.

Popular proceedings of Quintius. Olymp. cxlvi. 2, 3. B.C. 195—194.

In marching towards Phocis, the Romans stopped at Argos, and beheld in that neighbourhood the Nemean games, which had been intermitted at the preceding period of celebration on account of the servitude of the Argive capital. Quintius presided in the assembly at the desire of the grateful Argives, and was himself, as the author of their liberties, the most admired part of the exhibition. During his winter quarters at Elatæa, the proconsul's pavilion was converted into a tribunal of political justice. Innumerable references were made to him with respect to the internal arrangements of the several states, as well as concerning their disputed interests with each other; and all parties retired from his

[44] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 40.

presence with a profound sense of his sagacity and integrity. Early in the spring, he summoned to Corinth a convention of deputies from his allies. To this assembly, more crowded than on any former occasion, he declared his principles and explained the drift of his past proceedings; and, if he did not really feel the deepest concern for the happiness of Greece, he had at least the address to persuade his audience, that this was his prevailing sentiment. While he detailed maxims of sound policy, gathered from the long neglected writings of that people to whom he spoke, expatiated on the value of equal laws and impartial government, nicely discriminated between liberty and licentiousness, and above all, exhorted the Greeks to concord, which he said would render them invincible, such paternal admonitions drew tears of joy from the multitude: Quintius sympathised with their feelings, and his own tears often interrupted his discourse. He then told them, that, before he sailed for Italy, the Roman garrisons should evacuate Chalcis and Demetrias; and that, before the convention was dissolved, they should see his soldiers descend from the citadel to which he pointed, that Corinth might return, as a free commonwealth into the bosom of the Achæan league.[45] He concluded by requesting, that all Romans who had been sold as captives into Greece, during the late Punic war, might be ransomed by the several states in which they

[45] Plutarch. in Flamin.

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were found, and sent to him into Thessaly before his embarkation. The hearers thanked him, by acclamation, for reminding them of so just and pious a duty: and they afterwards performed it, dear as it cost them. In Achaia alone, the expense of redemption amounted to a hundred talents [46], at five hundred drachmas, about sixteen pounds, for each individual. The aggregate therefore of Roman captives in that country alone, was not less than twelve hundred: how great then must have been their number throughout the Greek states collectively! [47]

His progress through Greece previous to his withdrawing his army from that country.

The acclamations of the assembly were renewed at beholding the foreign garrison on its march from the Acro-Corinthus. Quintius soon overtook this body of men in their way to join the army in Phocis. He there gave orders to his lieutenants to proceed with their respective forces through Thessaly and Epirus to Oricum, the harbour nearest to Italy, at which his brother Lucius was commanded to have the transports in readiness. While proper measures were in preparation for ransoming and collecting the Roman captives, and for conveying them together with the troops, treasures, and hostages across the Hadriatic, the proconsul made a progress through all the northern states of Greece, not excepting the island of Eubæa, and every where performed the meritorious offices expected from him. In Eubæa, he with-

[46] About 20,000*l*.

[47] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 50.

drew the Roman garrisons from Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria; assembled deputies from the several cities in the island; reconciled their differences with each other; and made the necessary arrangements for enabling them, as a free people, to resist the threatened encroachments of Antiochus. With the same views, he visited all the cities on the continent, and every where placed the government in the hands of those who had most interest in its safety.[48] He then joined his fleet and army at Oricum; and, after an absence of nearly four years, returned to Rome to the enjoyment of one of the best merited of Roman triumphs. In this splendid procession, he displayed the golden crowns, the marble statues, and sculptured vases, which were partly the offerings of allied commonwealths, and partly the spoils of conquered enemies; the noble hostages who followed his car, among whom were Demetrius the son of Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis; the great quantities of precious metals which, either in coin or bullion, were to be consigned to the public treasury; above all, the grateful multitudes of ransomed Romans, whose heads, shaved bare, indicated the miserable condition of slavery from which he had rescued them.[49] The applauses of the multitude were unbounded: but a proof still more important of public favour happened shortly afterwards at the election of new consuls in the room of Lucius Cornelius

His reception and unrivalled credit at Rome.
Olymp. cxlvi. 3.
B.C. 194.

[48] Plutarch. in Flamin.

[49] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 52.

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and Quintius Minutius. There had never, on any former occasion, been so many distinguished competitors; but two men, Lucius Quintius and Scipio Nasica, turned on them solely the eyes of the public, because the emulation between them was to decide the rivalship of fame between their brothers Titus Quintius and Scipio Africanus. It was determined in favour of the former: his brother Lucius, without any high personal claim, was chosen consul in opposition to Scipio Nasica, who, a dozen years before, had been appointed by the senate, as *the best man in Rome*, to conduct the Pessinuntian goddess to the temple of Victory; who was supported by the whole credit of the Cornelian family, of which the Scipios were a branch; a Cornelius, too, being the consul who presided in the elective assembly.[50]

[50] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 10.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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Rome the Seat of Negociation. — Causes of the War with Antiochus. — Its Instigators; Eumenes, Hannibal, and Thoas. — Affairs of Greece. — Philopœmen's War of Stratagem with Nabis. — Opposite Counsels given to Antiochus by Hannibal and Thoas. — He arrives in Greece. — His Transactions there. — Battle of Thermopylæ. — He returns to Ephesus. — His Measures for Defence. — Sea-fight off Corycus. — A Rhodian Fleet captured by Treachery. — Pergamus invaded. — The Rhodians and Romans intercept Antiochus's Succours under Hannibal and Apollonius. — Sea-fights of Eurymedon and Myonnesus. — The Scipios in Asia. — Romans visit Troy. — Decisive Battle of Magnesia. — Conditions of Peace with Antiochus. — General Arrangements with regard to Greek Cities in Asia. — Manlius's Expedition against the Gauls. — Siege of Ambracia. — Humiliation of the Etolians.

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Rome the general seat of negociation. Olymp. cxlvi. 4. B. C. 193.

By relinquishing their hold of Greece, and drawing home their legions, the Romans adorned their laurels with the fair renown of moderation and clemency. Their capital became thenceforward the seat of embassies from allies whom they had protected, enemies whom they had conquered and pardoned, republics reinstated by them in the enjoyment of liberty, and kings, who either courted their friendship, or who, notwithstanding some grounds of quarrel,

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still hoped to avert their hostility. Of the last description was Antiochus; on whose part, Menippus and Hegesionax, two Syrian Greeks, appeared in the senate. That council having heard the ministers of other powers, with none of whom there was any difficulty, committed the discussion with the Syrians, as involving matters of a more intricate nature, to Quintius Flamininus, and the same persons who had assisted him in settling the affairs of Greece. These persons were empowered to answer the ambassadors of the king in the way that appeared to them most suitable to the interests and honour of the commonwealth.

Her transactions with ambassadors from Syria.

In the conference held for this purpose, Menippus declared [1], that he knew not of any peculiarity that perplexed the object of his mission. Between nations, there were only three kinds of transactions or treaties; the first, when having waged an unfortunate war, the vanquished obtained peace by submitting to the will of the victors: the second, when the struggle being undecisive and its issue doubtful, matters in dispute were adjusted, by mutual consent, on the footing either of ancient right, or of actual possession: the third kind of treaty was altogether simple, when powers entered into friendship, that had never before been at variance; and this last was the relation in which Antiochus stood to the Romans. To this Quintius replied, "Since, these nice divisions indicate a wish to reason

[1] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 57. et seq.

correctly, I also will distinctly propose the only alternative, on which any amicable engagement between us can take place. If Antiochus expects that the Romans should not interfere in the affairs of Asia, he must withdraw his garrisons from Europe: while he occupies a single post in the West, he must not be surprised that the Romans should be watchful to defend their old, and earnest to acquire new allies in the East. Hegesionax, upon this, observed, that the condition was unequal. The Romans could not justly lay claim to any portion of Asia; but his master, by right of inheritance from the First Seleucus, conqueror of Lysimachus, was legitimate lord of Thrace and other European countries. His possessions in the Thracian Chersonesus and neighbouring districts, he held by another, and, if possible, still more sacred title. He had rescued them from hostile Barbarians, repaired their ruined cities, and restored them from gloomy desolation to the splendour of social and civilised life. It concerned his honour, to retain dominions so honourably acquired." Quintius replied calmly, "If honour is the main consideration, as it ought surely to be with so great a king, would not this object be best attained by emancipating all Greek cities, whereever situate, instead of reducing any of them into reluctant vassalage. If Antiochus's glory requires that he should assert a dominion, which, though the great founder of his house claimed, none of his nearer progenitors ever really held, how much more is the glory of Rome interested,

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after delivering from the yoke of Philip the Greeks inhabiting Europe, to rescue also the Greeks in Asia, from oppression? The Eolians and Ionians did not cross the seas, that they might be slaves to eastern kings, but that they might propagate and diffuse a race of enlightened freemen through the finest regions of the earth." The Syrians were not empowered, they said, to make any concessions, by which the empire of their master might be lessened. Next day, in company with other foreign deputies, they were introduced into the senate-house. Quintius made report of the conference which he had held with them; and the ambassadors, perceiving the strong effect produced by his discourse, especially among the Greek strangers present, entreated the senators not to proceed at once to extremities. "The peace of the world was in question; it was the earnest wish of Antiochus, that it should not, through his fault, be disturbed." In consequence of this declaration, the senate sent to him Sulpicius, Villius, and Ælius, the same persons who, in the preceding year, had treated with him at Lysimachia.[2]

Causes of the war with Antiochus. I. Eumenes, his views. Olymp. cxlvi. 4. B.C. 195.

Meanwhile, his generals carried on the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus, the former of which was the main bulwark of the Ionian commonwealths; and the latter, of those near the Hellespont. The king, in person, was employed in an expedition against the warlike Pisidians, of all

[2] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 57. et seq.

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nations in Lesser Asia his most reluctant subjects. He had exerted himself ably to consolidate the dominions of his ancestors, and showed a disposition to extend them; but, besides the too natural jealousy between great neighbouring powers, separated from each other only by the precarious independence of Greece, three causes concurred to frustrate all amicable negociation between him and the Romans. Eumenes II. of Pergamus saw that his own ruin was at hand, unless the great western republic were embroiled with the ambitious king of Syria. He therefore spared no pains to foment that quarrel. On the supposition that the conflict were doubtful, he thought it better for him to provoke war, with the Romans on his side, than to fight, as it must soon become necessary for him, unaided and alone, against so mighty a potentate. But he was confident that Rome would prevail in the contest, through which issue of the war he hoped not only to save his own kingdom, but to share the spoils of his great hereditary foe.[3]

II. Hannibal. — His proceedings and plans of vengeance.

While Eumenes thus counteracted pacification with the eagerness of fear and interest, Hannibal, actuated by the fiercer passions of hatred and revenge, endeavoured to infuse them, in their full force, into the soul of Antiochus. Shortly after the battle of Zama, this extraordinary man had been raised to the first magistracy of Carthage. Of this authority conferred on

3 Conf. Polybius, l. iii. c. 7. & c. 32. & l. xviii. c. 22.

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him by the multitude, he availed himself to reform many abuses[4] which had crept into the administration of police, justice, and the finances; and which had grown inveterate through the combination of a few powerful families to compensate by rapacity their expences incurred by bribery, and to traduce and punish as criminals all whom they had reason to fear as accusers. Until the election of Hannibal to the pretorship, all offices of power or profit had circulated within this narrow junto; they managed the treasury, exercised the function of state inquisitors; and tried all causes, either of private right, or public delinquency. Their dilapidations of the revenues, screened by the perversion of justice, rendered the imposition of new taxes necessary for discharging the annual tribute payable by treaty to Rome. Hannibal, in virtue of an ancient law, empowering the first magistrate, when his sentiments were at variance with those of inferior members of government, to appeal to the people at large, summoned a popular assembly; and, with great benefit to the commonwealth, introduced a fair rotation in the judiciary power, and remedied the other grievances long felt and lamented. But, by these measures, he so much exasperated the Junto that they had recourse to the Romans, accusing him of a design to excite a new war, and of having entered, with this view, into a secret correspondence with Antiochus. The Romans, hostilely disposed towards

[4] See above, vol. ii. c. ix. p. 204. et seq.

the Syrian king, and in whom the bare name of Hannibal fomented animosity, consulted their passions rather than their dignity, and dispatching ambassadors to Carthage, interposed in the domestic dissensions of that state, with mischievous effect to the great object of their jealousy. To avoid the persecution of his enemies, Hannibal fled to Cercina, a small island on the coast of Byzatium, and embarked there in a vessel bound for Tyre. In this venerable metropolis of Carthage, he was received with the fond admiration of a parent for an illustrious and long absent son. From Tyre he sailed to Antioch, and was honourably entertained by Seleucus, son to Antiochus, then celebrating the annual games at Daphné. He tore himself from this soft retreat of voluptuous indolence, and hastened to join Antiochus, then expected on the coast of Ephesus, to deliberate concerning peace or war with the Romans. It is unnecessary to add, that the appearance of Hannibal in the council determined him to the bolder side of the alternative.[5]

III. Intrigues of Thoas, the Etolian pretor.

The third circumstance, which precipitated hostilities, also rendered Greece the immediate scene of conflict. Through their embassy bearing remonstrances to the senate[6], the Etolians had obtained none of those advantages to which they pretended. Their wrongs were indignantly resented by their pretor Thoas, a man rash, arrogant, impetuous, yet uniting, with boiling

[5] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 46. et seq.

[6] See above, c. xix.

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courage, the basest and most unprincipled artifice. Thoas had distinguished himself among his discontented countrymen by virulent invectives against the Romans; and being now vested with authority in Etolia, laboured to communicate his own rancorous passions to the heads of neighbouring states. With this view, he dispatched at once three embassies; to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, to Philip of Macedon, and to Antiochus. To Nabis he observed, that, as the Roman armies were withdrawn, a fair opportunity invited him to recover his jurisdiction over Argos and the maritime districts of Laconia. He admonished Philip that it was now in his power to obtain, the object of many former prayers, the assistance of Antiochus against Rome: and to Antiochus, aleady stimulated to war by Hannibal, he declared, by an audacious falsehood, that he had made sure of Nabis and of Philip, and that both these princes, as well as the Etolians, were eager to co-operate strenuously against the common enemy.[7]

Nabis defeats Philopœmen at sea. Olymp. cxlvi. 1. B. C. 192.

The first effect of these machinations appeared in the proceedings of Nabis, who, uneasy at exclusion from the sea, the source of his former profits, began to employ both force and fraud for regaining possession of his harbours. Into the principal of them, Gythium, the Achæans threw a garrison, thinking it their duty, after the departure of the Romans, to protect against the designs of Nabis the independence of the

7 Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 12.

Laconian coast. The tyrant prepared to besiege the place; and, to intercept succours by sea, equipped three galleys with some armed boats and cutters, for he had been recently compelled, as we have seen, to surrender the whole of his piratical fleet. Shortly before the siege of Gythium, Philopœmen had been re-elected to the pretorship of Achaia. Alarmed for the safety of his countrymen shut up in Gythium, he hastily put to sea, with a few small vessels, and only one ship of force, now old and crazy. She was commanded by Tiso of Patræ, for Philopœmen, a landsmen brought up in the heart of Arcadia, professed not any skill in maritime affairs. At the first shock with Nabis, Tiso's galley was disabled, and taken with her whole crew. This unlucky event at once decided the battle. The Achæans fled dispersedly: Philopœmen escaped to Patræ in an advice boat, declaring, it is said, that Nabis should not long boast his triumph.[8]

War of stratagem between Nabis and Philopœmen. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C. 192.

Meanwhile the tyrant's success redoubled his diligence. Part of his army was drawn from Gythium to the neighbourhood of Bœa, a harbour on the inmost recess of the Laconic gulph, from which central situation the Spartans might hasten seasonably, wherever danger threatened. Philopœmen was duly informed of this movement. He learned also that, for want of leathern tents, the detachment at Bœa was lodged in huts composed chiefly of twigs and reeds.

[8] Plutarch. in Philopœm. Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 26.

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Upon this intelligence, he embarked his light infantry in small boats on an obscure creek of Argolis, and from thence creeping secretly along shore, landed behind a promontory near Bœa, waiting the approach of night to execute his designs. Through unfrequented paths he then advanced to the enemy's station: the reedy huts, thickly covered with leaves, were thrown into a conflagration: the Spartans were defeated by their own fears, before they felt the swords of their adversaries; only a miserable remnant escaped towards the larger camp at Gythium. The sad tidings did not hinder Nabis from prosecuting the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. Philopœmen hastened northwards, and, until the Achæans should, according to orders, advance in full force to Tegea, contented himself with ravaging Laconia, particularly the district Tripolis, on the Arcadian frontier. Having joined his army, by this time assembled at Tegea, he purposed to lead it immediately against Sparta, as the best expedient either for saving Gythium, or compensating its loss. In returning southward, he made his first halt at Caryæ; and on the day of his arrival there, Gythium was taken. Ignorant of this event, he proceeded towards Sparta, his troops, on account of the narrow road, forming a train five miles long. In this condition he beheld an army in front, occupying a strong post called Pyrrhus's camp, well fitted to obstruct his progress; for Nabis, after securing possession of Gythium, had hastened to the defence of his ravaged

territory and threatened capital. Under these circumstances Philopœmen, with a presence of mind the result of habitual reflection on military emergencies, seized a rocky eminence overhanging a small rivulet, from which, in their present situation, both armies must supply themselves with water. Night intervened to prevent an immediate battle. Philopœmen profited of the interval to post a select body of targeteers in a concealed cavern. Next morning, part of the enemy's light forces advanced, as had been foreseen, to dispute possession of the watering place. Philopœmen opposed them with the same description of troops, which engaging them in a desultory combat, drew them towards his ambush of targeteers, by whom they were surprised and slain. To avail himself of the apprehensions with which this disaster was likely to fill the tyrant, he employed a crafty and fearless Cretan, alike prepared to die or to deceive, who, under the semblance of a deserter, assured Nabis that the enemy purposed to intercept his return southward, by occupying the narrow defiles near the Eurotas, and that hopes were entertained of stirring Sparta to rebellion. This intelligence made Nabis decamp; the Achæans so much harassed his retreat, that it became a disorderly flight: to gain more swiftness, the Lacedæmonians threw away their spears, which falling on their iron points, formed a sort of rampart across the road, and casually aided the escape of the routed army into the woods on either side for shelter. Nabis, with a few fol-

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lowers, reached Sparta; and Philopœmen doubted not but the other fugitives would also attempt to enter that city at the approach of darkness, after skulking all day-time in the woods. Accordingly he beset the roads leading to Sparta from Pharis and Barbosthenes. The Lacedæmonians thus fell into his hands, unarmed: scarcely a fourth part of them regained their capital. Philopœmen ravaged Laconia thirty days without seeing an enemy.[9]

Antiochus invited into Greece, and Roman commissioners insulted. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C. 192.

Meanwhile the Romans, apprised of the commotions excited by Thoas in Greece, sent thither the pretor Atilius with twenty-four galleys; Quintius Flamininus also appeared at the head of a Roman commission, that the force of arms might be supported by the weight of authority. Having found the Achæans disposed to his wish, Quintius proceeded to Athens, to Chalcis, to various cities in Thessaly; he delayed to visit Etolia, but sent thither Athenian deputies, now totally subservient to his views. Before this time, Thoas had been succeeded in the pretorship by Damocritus, a man, if possible, more insolent. Thoas himself had just returned from Antiochus, in company with the king's ambassador Menippus. This minister boasted to the Etolians his master's greatness; his Macedonian phalanx, his Persian cavalry; above all, his immense treasures, sufficient at once to enrich his Greek friends, and to buy his Roman enemies. Against such pleasing language, the Athenians

[9] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28. et seq.

employed their eloquence in vain. All that could be obtained through their intercession, and that of a few dispassionate men in the assembly, was, that the Roman commissioners, if they came to Naupactus, its place of meeting, should be admitted to an audience. Upon hearing of this resolution, Quintius with his colleagues proceeded thither from Corinth, but it was only to witness the complete triumph of their enemies. Without adjourning the meeting, or allowing the commissioners time to depart, Damocritus procured a decree for inviting Antiochus into Greece, that he might decide all matters in dispute between the Etolians and the Romans. When Quintius asked for explanations of some clauses in the decree, and a copy of it in writing, Damocritus fiercely answered, that the Etolians would fully explain themselves on the banks of the Tiber.[10]

Demetrias taken by stratagem.

The commissioners returned to Corinth; and the Etolians, by means of their secret council, concerted measures well calculated to justify their haughtiness. They aimed at nothing less than making themselves masters at once of Demetrias, of Chalcis, and of Sparta. The first of these enterprises was completely successful, and its success originated in a transaction which had happened at Demetrias when Quintius recently visited that strong-hold of Thessaly. The Magnetes, its inhabitants, whom the Romans had liberated from the yoke of Macedon, were

[10] Polybius, l. iii. c. 3. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 32. et seq.

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alarmed by a report that the same people, who had been the authors of their liberty, were desirous of reducing them once more under their former master. The report had been raised by the Romans themselves, who, on account of the war that threatened them from Antiochus, were anxious to soothe Philip. When Eurylochus, therefore, the pretor of the Magnetes, acknowledged that he had heard such a rumour with much sorrow, Quintius did not enter into any explicit justification: he only recalled the benefits conferred through his means on the Greeks in general, and particularly on the Magnetes; he desired them to compare the state in which he found, with that in which he left them: before his arrival in Thessaly, they had not only a Macedonian garrison but a royal palace in their capital: to what purpose had he compelled Philip to quit this proud princely abode, if it was once more, by the consent of the Magnetes themselves, to be occupied by a new and more despotic monarch? Eurylochus replied with vivacity, that it seemed to him of little importance whether his countrymen obeyed Antiochus or the Romans, since at present all their proceedings depended on the arbitrary will of the latter. Quintius, at this remark, raised his hands in a transport of indignation, calling Heaven to witness the ingratitude of the Magnetes. Here Zeno, a man of great power in Demetrias, and highly acceptable to the Romans, interposed, imploring the commissioners not to impute to the community at large the rashness

and madness of an individual. That his countrymen owed every thing most dear to them, to Quintius, and the Roman people; and, he was sure, would rather plunge daggers into their own breasts, than violate their fidelity to such illustrious benefactors. His sentiments reechoed from all parts of the assembly, which testified such resentment against Eurylochus, that he secretly made his escape, and sought refuge among the Etolians.[11]

This people, ever ready to profit by occurrences, founded on the flight of the chief magistrate of Demetrias their design for surprising that city. In consequence of applications from him by letters, his friends and relatives entered the assembly of their commonwealth in sordid habits, and with every badge of supplication, intreating the people at large, and many individuals in particular, to remit their anger, and allow Eurylochus to return from banishment. The people in pity to a man who had recently borne such high authority among them, and who was now in exile, untried, unheard, and perhaps altogether innocent, readily gave ear to the suppliants; while the party adverse to the measures of the present magistracy, abetted their importunity with the eagerness of interest. It was determined by general consent to recal Eurylochus. During his residence in Etolia, he had been the guest of Diocles, now master of horse, the second dignity

[11] Polybius, l. iii. c. 31.

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in that commonwealth. Diocles, to accompany him home, had all his cavalry in readiness, at the head of which he advanced uninterruptedly, day and night, within six miles of Demetrias. He then halted, and selecting three troops the fittest for his purpose, proceeded with them towards the city, causing them to dismount as they approached the gates, and lead their horses, that they might appear rather a friendly train attending Eurylochus by way of honour, than a regular military escort. One of these troops halted to secure the gate; Diocles advanced to the forum, holding his friend Eurylochus by the hand, while crowds came forth to welcome his return. Meanwhile the great mass of cavalry took possession of the city; one division of the Etolians ran to occupy the commanding posts, another flew to destroy the partizans of Rome.[12]

More audacious enterprise against Sparta. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B.C. 192.

The enterprise against Sparta, or rather its tyrant Nabis, was attended with circumstances still more memorable. The tyrant had pressed the Etolians for aid in his war with Achaia, in which, through their means chiefly, he had been involved. Philopœmen had shut him up within his capital, and ravaged his territories for a whole month with impunity. On pretence of enabling him once more to take the field, the Etolians sent to him a thousand foot, and thirty horse under Alexamenus, a youth distinguished for precipitate boldness even in Etolia. This

[12] Polybius, l. iii. c. 34.

detachment had orders in private from the secret council, not to think itself destined merely to the Achæan war, but to be ready for any exploit enjoined by Alexamenus, however precipitate and daring it might at first sight appear. Alexamenus, with men thus instructed, came in the most friendly manner to Nabis, and apologised to him for the paucity of his numbers, by saying, that as Antiochus, who had already passed into Europe, was shortly expected in Etolia, his countrymen wished to show themselves to the best advantage and in the utmost force to this great and generous ally. That the Romans, those restless and rapacious barbarians, would no longer have to do with the weakness of Macedon and the disunion of Greece, but with a mighty monarch, whose hosts of infantry and cavalry were countless as the waves, whose fleets covered the sea, whose armed elephants and chariots of war were terrible beyond description. In concert with this powerful confederate, the Etolians would be soon ready to protect Nabis against all his enemies: meanwhile, he ought not to keep his men cooped up within their walls, but anticipating future triumphs, lead them forth to daily exercise on the banks of the Eurotas. Agreeably to this advice, Nabis drew his Lacedæmonians and mercenaries from the city, and made them perform their evolutions in company with their Etolian auxiliaries. When this practice had been so often repeated as to dispel every shadow of distrust, Alexamenus, having suddenly com-

A handful of Etolians assassinate Nabis at the head of his guards.

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municated the design to his countrymen, by one stroke dismounted the tyrant at the head of his guards; and Nabis, though strongly covered with mail, was speedily dispatched by the Etolian horsemen.[13] This deed of matchless audacity abashed both Spartans and strangers; for the extent of the conspiracy being unknown, all trembled at a man who had prostrated in the dust the recent object of their terrors.

Philopœmen's seasonable arrival — he unites Lacedæmon to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C. 192.

But Alexamenus and his fierce Etolians, though well qualified for executing such an enterprise, were of all men the worst calculated for deriving from it permanent advantage. Instead of summoning an assembly, confirming the Lacedæmonians in liberty, and inviting them to join in the Etolean league, Alexamenus wasted many invaluable hours in ransacking the tyrant's palace; and his rapacious Etolians behaved as in a city taken by storm. The Lacedæmonians were thus recalled to a sense of their own strength and the enemy's weakness; they attacked and overwhelmed the handful of banditti, ravening in their prey, before Philopœmen, who had marched towards Sparta on the first news of the tyrant's death, came to avail himself of the distracted state of that city. About the time of Philopœmen's arrival the pretor Atilius had landed at Gythium with twenty-four Roman gallies. This circumstance highly favoured Philopœmen's welcome reception at Sparta, and facilitated his measures for regu-

[13] Polybius, l. iii. c. 35.

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lating the Lacedæmonian affairs agreeably to the views of his country. He called an assembly of the people, made to them such a speech as Alexamenus recently lost the opportunity of delivering, congratulated them on being rescued from a cruel tyranny, and united them by their general consent, as free, co-ordinate, members in the Achæan league.[14]

The Etolians fail in their attempt on Chalcis.

A third expedition of the Etolians, carried on at the same time with their successful enterprise against Demetrias, and their abortive attempt on Sparta, was directed against Chalcis in Eubœa, and committed to the conduct of Thoas, recently their ambassador with the king of Syria. For surprising the Eubœan capital, Thoas had provided a detachment of two thousand infantry and two hundred horse, and trusted for success chiefly to the intrigues of Heradorus, a merchant of Cius, at the eastern extremity of the Propontis, whose unrivalled opulence gave him a powerful sway over the councils of Chalcis. The design, however, was defeated through the spirit of the Chalcians, assisted by their near neighbours the Eretrians and Carystians[15]; and Thoas having learned the taking of Demetrias, an object of still greater moment, was in haste to return to Ephesus, and to encourage Antiochus by such an auspicious event to sail immediately for Greece.

[14] Plutarch. in Philopœmen. Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 36.
[15] Ibid.

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Opposite counsels given by Thoas and Hannibal to Antiochus.

The counsels of this rash Etolian had the greater weight with the king, his own ministers being shamefully ignorant of the affairs of Europe, and Hannibal, through his boldness and abilities, having exposed himself to the loss of royal favour. Besides the influence of courtiers seldom exerted in favour of the firmer virtues, Hannibal is said to have incurred suspicion by his frequent interviews with Villius, one of the Roman ambassadors.[16] The Roman is thought, with such an intent, to have artfully solicited these conferences; but whatever may be in this conjecture, for it is not likely that Hannibal should have been caught in so gross a snare, Antiochus, in his subsequent measures, certainly preferred the advice of the Etolian to that of the Carthaginian. Hannibal had proposed a plan of war extensive and lofty like his own genius. While the king's land forces were assembling from remote countries of the East, he was to avail himself of the superiority of his fleet: to send one part to take possession of Byllis, a district in Illyricum, pointing to, and threatening Italy; at the same time to alarm the coasts of that peninsula opposite to Sardinia and Africa: above all, to employ an hundred transports to convey ten thousand foot and one thousand horse into Italy; in which last service Hannibal, from sixteen years' experience in such warfare, presumed to offer himself as general.[17]

[16] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 19.

[17] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 7.

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That prince sails to Greece—his demands from the allies. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B.C. 192.

The opinion of Thoas was directly the reverse. By exaggerating the numbers and resources of the Etolians and their allies, he encouraged Antiochus, though it was winter, immediately to invade Greece; and as that country, from which they originally sprang, and the scene of their perpetual conflicts with each other, had an imaginary importance in the fancies of all Alexander's successors, the proposal for carrying his arms into Greece was most acceptable to Antiochus. He therefore left the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus to be prosecuted by his lieutenants, and sailed to the Pelasgic gulph with an hundred galleys, containing ten thousand infantry, five hundred horse, and six elephants. The king landed near the entrance of the gulph: Eurylochus, pretor of the Magnetes, came from Demetrias to meet him; and the Syrian fleet had orders to sail round into the harbour of that city. The Etolians, who had advanced to Lamia in Thessaly, no sooner heard of his arrival, than they passed a decree for receiving him with every honour. Antiochus, being apprised of this decree, proceeded from Demetrias to Phalera on the Malian gulph, and thence onward to Lamia. In this place the vast crowds, that welcomed him with noisy acclamations, rendered it difficult for Thoas, and Phæneas now pretor of the Etolians, to procure for him undisturbed admission into their council. Antiochus testified no uneasiness at the tumultuary uproar occasioned only by excess of affection; and when silence had been

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obtained, addressed the Etolians in a speech filled with excuses, with promises, and with demands. He apologised, for coming among them with so inconsiderable an armament, by the season of the year, and his eagerness to obey their invitation. But for this defect, he would make ample amends when his preparations were brought to maturity: his fleets would then cover the seas, and Greece would be filled, not only with armies, but with all kinds of supplies; determined, as he was, to spare neither expense, nor labour, nor danger, to render the Greeks really a free people, and the Etolians the first nation among them. In the meantime, it belonged to his allies to furnish him with corn in abundance, and to take measures for providing him with other essential accommodations at a reasonable rate.[18]

His fruitless expedition against Chalcis.

The king's speech was received with unbounded applause: he was saluted general of the Etolians; and thirty of their principal men were assigned him for his military council. The multitude then returned to their respective cities. Next day, Antiochus deliberated with his council in what quarter he should commence the war. It was resolved to try the fidelity of Chalcis in Eubœa, against which the Etolians had recently failed; but which, it was hoped, would open its gates to so great a king. In this presumption, Antiochus having crossed the Euripus with a small fleet and a still smaller

[18] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 44.

army, was told frankly by the Chalcians, that they were untaxed, ungarrisoned, and independent: that, to the best of their knowledge, all other cities of Greece had been left in the same enviable condition by the Romans, against whose consent, they could not, without the blackest ingratitude, contract any new alliance.[19]

His negociations successful with the Athenians and Bœotians, baffled at Ægium by Quintius.

Upon this answer, the king, rather than commence his boasted undertakings by a tedious siege, returned to Demetrias, and from thence dispatched embassies to Athens, Thebes, and most of the northern states. The Bœotians, smarting under the punishments inflicted on their outrages, and impoverished by their extreme profligacy, showed a willingness to abet every scheme of innovation: even the Athenians, hitherto distinguished by zeal in the cause of Rome, were thrown into discord, by needy and noisy men, who hoped to share the largesses of Antiochus. The ambassadors of that prince next appeared in the Achæan council at Ægium. They were accompanied by some leading men among the Etolians. Quintius also came to the council to counteract their machinations. The king's ambassador had the first hearing. Not contenting himself with the exaggerations hitherto made vaguely and generally, concerning his master's greatness and resources, he expatiated with parading verbosity on the distinctive excellencies of his naval squadrons and military

[19] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 46.

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brigades: prolixly descanting on the Tyrians, Sidonians, Aradians, and Pamphylians; the Dahæ, Carduchians, Elymeans, and Medes. He exhorted the Achæans not to reject the friendship, now tendered them, of so powerful a monarch; which they might accept without infringing any prior treaty, since, all required of them was, that, in case of war, they should agree to the observance of a strict neutrality. The Etolians spoke to the same purpose; but, before concluding their discourse, indulged in their usual intemperance of invective against the Romans, arraigning their ingratitude and perfidy to allies, whose bravery, not their own, had procured them all their success on that side the Hadriatic. Quintius said in reply, "the speech of the Etolians is calculated not for the Achæans, who know its extravagance, but for the king's ambassadors whom they hope to deceive. By this commerce of falsehood, the treaty has been cemented between them, while the Etolians magnified their matchless prowess, and Antiochus as vainly exaggerated his immeasurable power. The enumeration, indeed, of warlike nations now made by his minister, reminds me of a facetious host with whom I once lived at Chalcis. His guests admired the variety of game that abounded at his table in the midst of summer. But he removed their wonder, by telling them, with an arch smile, that his cook was his best huntsman; *his* art alone had created all the profusion of delicacies before them, from the flesh merely of domestic swine. Such are the various

appellations, now so pompously detailed, all of them summed up in the vile name of Syrians[20], a name comprehending every form of baseness and servility."[21] Quintius found no difficulty in confirming the fidelity of the Achæans. At his desire they sent five hundred men to Athens, and as many to Chalcis. Eumenes also sent a small body of Pergamenians to the latter city. These succours arrived before Antiochus, who had deferred, but not relinquished, his design against the place, thought proper to cross the Euripus, and invade the Chalcian territory.[22]

Antiochus conquers Eubœa. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C. 192.

He had now made the proper dispositions for this undertaking, having beset, with his fleet and army, all the nearest crossing-places, from Bœotia to Eubœa. It happened at the same time that five hundred Romans, belonging to two legions which the pretor Bæbius had transported to Illyricum, sailed round, at the request of the Chalcians, to reinforce their garrison. These Romans, finding the ordinary passage from Aulis to Chalcis already occupied, proceeded southward to Delium, a sea-port taking its name from a famous temple of Apollo, and about four miles distant from the opposite coast of Eubœa. As war had not yet been declared, nor a drop of blood shed on either side, many of the Romans amused their curiosity in viewing the grove and temple, while others strolled

[20] In the Greek and Roman plays, slave and Syrian were synonymous.

[21] Plutarch. in Flamin. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 49.

[22] Ibid. c. 50.

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idly about the shore, unarmed. In this scattered condition, they were suddenly attacked by Antiochus's troops: several of them were slain, and about fifty made prisoners: the few, who escaped, threw themselves into a castle on the Euripus. Antiochus, meanwhile reinforced by the Etolians, advanced with his whole armament against Chalcis; and as his dreadful menaces were justified by the superiority of his strength, the troops belonging to Eumenes and the Achæans thought proper to capitulate. Chalcis then opened its gates: the castle, occupied by a handful of Romans, surrendered; and the conquest of the Eubœan capital soon put the king in possession of the whole island. [23]

Negociations in Asia immediately preceding Antiochus's voyage into Greece.

Meanwhile the attention of all orders at Rome had been engrossed by reports concerning the vast projects of Antiochus. According to the latest advices, war with that prince appeared inevitable; and hostilities were likely to be carried on, not only in Greece, but in Sicily and Italy itself. Sulpicius and Villius, however the first generals who had been employed against Philip, still continued abroad, for the purpose of negociation with the king. His younger son Seleucus commanded at Lysimachia in Thrace: the elder, of the same name with his father, had been left at Antioch entrusted with the government of Syria. Antiochus himself in Lesser Asia was prepared to give a final hearing to Sulpicius and Villius, when news arrived of the

[23] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 51.

sudden death of his viceroy in Syria, and the heir to his throne; a young prince of many virtues[24], whom all men regarded as likely to sustain the character of a just and great king. Not only the court but the country was filled with lamentations: the king shut himself up in his palace at Ephesus, and intermitted, for several days, all public business. During his mourning, Minio, the principal of his friends, held a conference in his name with the Roman ambassadors. He told them, that their professions about the liberty of Greek cities were specious indeed and honourable, but completely belied by facts. That they made one rule for themselves, and had the presumption to prescribe to others a rule altogether different: For, in what respect was Smyrna or Lampsacus, of which they required the sieges to be raised, better entitled to freedom, than Naples, Rhegium, Tarentum, Greek cities in Italy; than Syracuse and other Greek cities in Sicily; all of which were degraded to the state of tributary subjects? That the law of conquest was not more valid on the side of Rome, than on that of Antiochus, whose ancestors, having subdued the Ionian and Eolian Greeks, had transmitted to him a just right to chastise their rebellion, and

[24] Livy mentions the report, that young Antiochus had been poisoned by eunuchs, in consequence of orders from a father jealous of his virtues: but the ground of the suspicion is contemptible in the extreme. " Antiochus had given Lysimachia to his younger son Seleucus, but had no other such place to which his jealousy could remove the elder." l. xxxv. c. 15.

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re-unite them to his empire. Sulpicius replied, "that since the cause of Antiochus could not be supported by better arguments, the king, in withholding his person from the conference, had well consulted his dignity. What resemblance is there in the circumstances of Magna Græcia, which, from the period of its submission to the Romans, has been governed by one uniform, uninterrupted, undisputed tenor of jurisdiction, and the unceasing fluctuations of the Ionian and Eolian cities, some of which have been reduced by the kings of Macedon, others by those of Egypt, while several, through a length of ages, have asserted complete independence? If, because the ancestors of Antiochus once held them in reluctant subjection, that prince thus acquired a right, after the lapse of centuries, again to claim their allegiance, what should hinder some future king of Macedon from usurping Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, and thereby rendering useless all that the Romans had effected in Greece with so great glory? But it is unnecessary for me to plead the cause of the Asiatic cities, since their own ambassadors are here present to speak for themselves." The ambassadors being called and heard, their intemperate language only widened the breach. Soon afterwards, Sulpicius and his colleague brought home an account of their fruitless negociation.[25]

Multifarious preparations

In consequence of their report, the Romans began to prepare for war with the utmost vigour.

[25] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv.

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of the Romans for the war with Antiochus. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B. C. 191.

To defend Italy a great army of observation was stationed at Tarentum: the districts suspected of disaffection were occupied by proper garrisons: two numerous squadrons guarded respectively the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and the regular military force in the island was strengthened by a powerful body of militia.[26] The consul Cornelius, also, issued an edict, that no magistrate, no senator, nor any of those dignified persons entitled to give their advice in the senate[27], should travel above a day's journey from Rome; and that more than four senators should not absent themselves from the city at once. Having taken these precautions for defence, they next provided the means of aggression. An army was ordered to assemble before the middle of March at Brundusium, to be transported, when necessary, to Illyricum. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants; and was commanded by the consul Acilius Glabrio. For securing necessary supplies to the forces at home and abroad, the usual tithes of corn wero ordered from Sardinia, and double tithes from Sicily: commissaries were likewise sent to purchase that article from Carthage, and from Masinissa king of Numidia. On this occasion a contest of

[26] Tumultuarii milites.

[27] All who had borne curule magistracies had a right to be enrolled in the senate the year immediately following that in which they had held their respective offices. But, previously to this enrolment, they were entitled to enter the senate-house, and to deliver their sentiments in debate. A. Gell. l. iii. c. 18.

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generosity occurred between the Romans and these African allies, who, both of them, offered gratuitously a greater supply than had been demanded; while the Romans refused to receive any thing more than they had at first required, and would agree to take even this quantity, only on condition of paying for it a fair price. An altercation of the same amicable nature took place with the ambassadors of Philip and of Ptolemy Epiphanes. These princes offered assistance against Antiochus, in men, money, and provisions. The Romans voted them thanks, but refused their presents: Ptolemy was kindly excused from interposing at all in the quarrel; but Philip had intimation that his services would be highly acceptable in co-operating with the consul Acilius: with such preparations the Romans entered on one of the most important wars which they ever waged, but which a combination of fortunate circumstances rendered one of the least obstinate.[28]

How the king of Athamania was gained to Antiochus.

After the conquest of Eubœa, Antiochus employed part of the winter in frivolous negociations with petty states, always ready to side with the present and prevailing power. He thus procured an alliance with the Elians, Bœotians, with some cities of Thessaly, and with the contiguous district of Athamania. Amynander, king of the Athamanians, had, as we have before seen, zealously assisted the Romans in their war against Philip. But, since the conclusion of that

[28] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 1. et seq.

war, he had married Apamea, daughter to a certain Alexander of Megalopolis, who boasted his descent from Alexander the Great. Besides his fair daughter Apamea, the citizen of Megalopolis had two sons, to whom, conformably to his high pretensions, he gave the royal names of Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder, followed his sister to Athamania, and, through her means, gained a powerful ascendency over the mind of her husband. To this Philip, Antiochus and the Etolians addressed themselves, promising him the kingdom of Macedon, provided he could engage his brother-in-law Amynander in their interest. Philip fulfilled his part of the agreement, and thereby ruined himself, and subjected Amynander to a temporary loss of his kingdom.[29]

Antiochus provokes Philip, in opposition to the advice of Hannibal. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B. C. 191.

Assisted by such allies, Antiochus proceeded to lay siege to several cities of Thessaly, and gained Pheræ, Pellinæum, Cronon, and Scotussa; the last of which overlooked the field of the decisive battle of Kynoscephalæ. This circumstance afforded Antiochus an opportunity of showing how little he was guided by the able counsels of Hannibal. That great general had spared no pains to destroy the suspicions of his fidelity, and to regain his former credit. The vile calumnies concerning his supposed conspiracy with the Romans were done away by the following recital to Antiochus, equally simple and impressive: "My father Hamilcar, at his

[29] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 1. et seq.

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departure from Carthage for Spain, performed a sacrifice to Jupiter. I was present at the ceremony, though only a child in my ninth year. Hamilcar asked me whether I would accompany him to the Spanish war. I assented with alacrity. He promised to take me, provided, on the present occasion, I showed my ready compliance with his will. Then, desiring all present to withdraw, he led me to the altar, on which he had just sacrificed; and, bidding me approach and touch it with my hand, commanded me to swear eternal enmity to the Romans. I swore the solemn oath, and my subsequent life of thirty-six years has been an unvaried act of performance. In the war with Rome, you may therefore safely trust Hannibal: but should you ever think of peace with that state, it will be time to have recourse to other advisers." [30] In consequence of this interview, which had reconciled him with Antiochus, Hannibal was called to a military council in Thessaly. He declared his opinion against all the measures which had hitherto been pursued, and once more recommended the extensive, yet solid plan of war, which he had originally proposed. But as Antiochus, contrary to his advice, had come into Greece with very inadequate preparations, he exhorted him by all means to court the friendship of Macedon, a kingdom of real importance, rather than waste time in gaining

[30] Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 11. Cornelius Nepos in Hannibal. & Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 19.

petty states, always ready to change sides upon the slightest reverse of fortune. Instead of following this sound advice, and of endeavouring to procure the assistance of king Philip, Antiochus listened to Philip the Megalopolitan. We have seen how the Macedonians slain at Kynoscephalæ had been left unburied. Philip the Megalopolitan was allowed the assistance of two thousand men to collect their bones, and to honour them with the rites of funeral. This office, performed at the request of a man who laid claim to the crown, could appear in no other light to the wearer of that crown, than as an excitement of his subjects to rebellion, by contrasting the piety of the rightful king, with the impiety of the king in possession. When apprised of a proceeding thus personally hostile, Philip immediately dispatched ambassadors to the pretor Bæbius, saying, that Thessaly had been invaded; and, should the pretor think fit to move from his winter quarters, that he would hasten to meet him, in order to concert measures required by the present emergency. In consequence of their deliberation, Appius Claudius immediately marched with a powerful detachment through Macedon, and occupied the hills above Gonni, fifteen miles distant from Larissa. Antiochus was employed in besieging the latter place; but suddenly raised the siege, when he heard of a vast encampment, and saw widely extended fires (for Appius thus heightened his alarm), blazing near Gonni, as if they would have consumed the whole contiguous vale of

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Tempé. Upon leaving Larissa, the Syrians retreated forty miles eastward to Demetrias, not doubting that the whole Roman army, reinforced by the Macedonians, had advanced into Thessaly, in order to give them battle.[31]

Antiochus's changed mode of life. — Its bad effects on his affairs.

Without tarrying at Demetrias, the king sailed to Chalcis; and in this, the principal and most secure of his conquests, commenced a course of life little compatible with those pursuits of war and ambition, which had hitherto wholly occupied him. The fair daughter of Cleoptolemus, his host at Chalcis, occasioned this alteration. Unmindful of his queen Laodicé, who had given to him five sons and four daughters, a woman of a noble mind, and daughter to Mithridates IV. of Pontus, Antiochus, in advanced life, and made hideous by a wound received in combating the Bactrians, sighed for degrading nuptials with this Chalcian beauty: and when he had overcome her own and her father's reluctance (for both preferred the safe middle state to royalty with danger), he gave way to such rejoicings and carousals, or indulged in such voluptuous indolence, as totally unnerved his own mind, and destroyed all regular discipline, not only among the troops who had followed him to Chalcis, but among those left in garrison on the opposite continent.[32] Accordingly, though he resumed arms in the spring, his operations were confined to the low purpose

[31] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 8.
[32] Conf. Polybius, l. xx. c. 18. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 11.

of gaining by bribery some inconsiderable places in Acarnania. While he was thus employed on the western side of Greece, Philip and Bæbius began their operations in Thessaly. Pellinæum, a city on the Peneus, was garrisoned by a large body of Athamanians and Syrians, entrusted by Antiochus to Philip the Megalopolitan. The allies summoned him to surrender: he answered in terms of defiance against the Romans, and of reproach against the usurper of his throne. Shortly afterwards, the consul Acilius arrived in the Ambracian gulph: Antiochus retired at his approach, relinquishing his recent acquisitions in Acarnania. The consul then proceeded into Thessaly, his forces amounting to 20,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 15 elephants. Threatened by such an army, Pellinæum surrendered. The Athamanians and Syrians were left by the consul to the sole disposal of the king of Macedon. The Athamanians he treated kindly, and sent back, unransomed, to their country. The captured troops of Antiochus experienced the ordinary fate of war, and patiently submitted to slavery. Philip the Megalopolitan, who had recently commanded both, passed through the gate of Pellinæum unarmed; and was met in this humble plight by Philip of Macedon. The king treated this vain man with contumelious levity; calling him ironically his brother, and causing him to be mocked with royal honours. He was then sent to the consul, by him consigned to rigorous confinement, and finally transported to Rome in irons. Having thus trampled on a rival, Philip

Capture of Pellinæum.

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The Athamanians submit to Philip.

hastened to punish an enemy. From Pellinæum, he marched into Athamania, the inhabitants of which district, moved by his clemency to their countrymen, received him as their master; while Amynander, divested of his little valley, unfitly dignified with the name of kingdom, and dreading alike Philip, whom he had long obstinately opposed, and the Romans, whom he had recently deserted, fled with his wife and children to Ambracia in Epirus [33], now forming a republic apart, with whose magistrates, Amynander had been long connected in bonds of friendship.

Preparations for the battle of Thermopylæ.

Meanwhile, Acilius pursued his conquests in Thessaly to the shore of the Malian gulph, where Antiochus, who had hitherto fled before him, determined to make a stand. Some reinforcements had been received from Asia. The Etolians had sent a body of 4,000 men. But these selfish allies refused to join forces with the Syrians, who occupied the straits of Thermopylæ; and threw themselves into the city Heraclæa, near the northern entrance of that famous pass. In case of victory on the side of Antiochus, they would be conveniently situate at Heraclæa for pursuing and plundering the Roman fugitives, and, in case Antiochus were defeated, they would be ready themselves to fly, unobstructed, to the strong-holds of their own country. Without their capricious aid, Antiochus resolved to maintain the straits with about 10,000 infantry and 500 horse. He had been

[33] Conf. Polybius, l. xx. c. 18. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 11.

miserably disappointed, not only as to the powerful and zealous co-operation of the Etolians, but as to the celerity with which his eastern forces might be assembled in the maritime provinces, and from thence transported into Greece. But he thought it disgraceful to leave that country without a battle; and, therefore, while Polyxenidas, his admiral, had orders to accelerate the embarkations from Asia, he fortified himself with much art and industry, strengthening, where necessary, the rocky labyrinth in which he had taken post, with trenches, palissades, and even stone walls. On the side of Heraclæa, where the Romans prepared to make their attack, the entrance was guarded by a firm division of the phalanx: a squadron of stout galleys defended the Malian gulph; and numerous victuallers from Lesser Asia rendered provisions plenty in the camp.

One circumstance, chiefly, disquieted Antiochus. He was not ignorant that the Persians under Xerxes, and the Gauls under Brennus, had poured down on the Greeks at Thermopylæ. He therefore requested the Etolians that they would occupy and defend the narrow passes across the mountain, only three in number, Rhoduntia, Tichius, and Callidromus. Nearly 2000 Etolians were prevailed on to undertake this indispensable service; the greater part remained obstinately at Heraclæa. Meanwhile, the consul proceeded southward from the Sperchius to storm the enemy's camp. He had animated his men with alacrity for this hard

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duty; but their ardour cooled on beholding the entrance to the straits bristling with Macedonian spears. They marched reluctantly to the assault, and were more than once repelled. Strong detachments, however, had been sent to descend by the sides of the defile, and to co-operate in flank, with the attack in front. One of these detachments was commanded by Cato, who, four years before this period, had signalised his military skill as consul in Spain, and who, seven years afterwards, gained more appropriate glory at Rome by the integrity and dignity of his censorship.[34] He was now in his forty-third year, in the highest vigour of mind and body. Flaccus, his coadjutor on the present occasion, failed in the attempt to dislodge the Etolians from Tichius, but Cato prevailed at Callidromus, from which he rushed with resistless impetuosity on the enemy. This movement converted the battle into a mere rout; Antiochus fled towards the southern[35] issue of the defile, and escaped with a handful of men to Elatia, and thence to Chalcis; his army was cut in pieces; his squadron in the Malian gulph dispersed itself among those harbours in the neighbourhood, at which the king was most likely to arrive. The galleys, that sailed for Chalcis, escorted him safely to Ephesus; while Atilius, who commanded the Roman fleet, captured a large

[34] Conf. Plutarch. in Caton. Major. & Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 8. et seq. l. xxxix. c. 42. et seq.

[35] At Alpenus, see above, vol. ii. p. 256.

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convoy of victuallers bound for the ruined camp at Thermopylæ.[36]

The Etolians persist in hostility.

The flight of Antiochus afforded the Romans an opportunity for exercising clemency towards his allies. Neither the Bœotians, nor Phocians, nor any other people abetting his cause, were punished for their defection. A pacific message was sent even to the Etolians: but they fiercely persisted in hostility, and defended their post at Heraclæa twenty-four days. It was taken after repeated assaults, and in it the arrogant Damocritus, who, as mentioned above, had insulted the Roman commissioners, and boasted that he would answer their demands of justice on the banks of the Tiber.[37]

Quintius saves their capital, and prevails on them to send ambassadors to Rome. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B. C. 191.

While the affairs of the Romans advanced on a prosperous tide of fortune, their ally Philip lay sick in the neighbourhood of Lamia. Upon his recovery, he immediately undertook the siege of that place, and was the more strenuous in his operations against it, because, when the consul should overcome the obstinacy of Heraclæa, he feared that the conqueror of Antiochus would require Lamia also to be surrendered to him. His conjecture was well founded; for his intrigues in the place having failed, and his works being retarded by the necessity of mining through a hard rock, Acilius desired him to raise the siege; and Lamia, on the first summons, opened its gates to the Romans. The clemency shown by these conquerors to the vanquished, began to

[36] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 15—21.

[37] Id. ibid. c. 24.

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change the stubborn purposes of the Etolians. In a council held at their frontier city Hypata on the Sperchius, within twenty miles of Heraclæa, their deputies consented to submit themselves "to the good faith of Rome;" but being taught the full import of this expression, flew into the utmost rage, and returning to Naupactus encouraged their countrymen rather wholly to perish, than to acknowledge a master.[38] Accordingly, when Acilius assailed Naupactus, the desperate valour of the Etolians baffled all his efforts, and while he persevered fruitlessly in the siege, Philip enjoyed a fair field for conquest, and made himself master, with other neighbouring cities, of the important strong-hold of Demetrias. The place capitulated, on condition that the garrison belonging to Antiochus should be allowed a free passage to Lysimachia in Thrace. Eurylochus, through whose means, as we have seen, Demetrias had fallen into the hands of that prince, refused to become a party to the treaty: a voluntary death saved him from the disgrace of submitting to Philip whom he had injured, in presence of his fellow-citizens whom he had betrayed.[39] In this state of affairs, while Philip was continually making new conquests, and the consul uselessly besieged Naupactus, Quintius Flamininus, who still remained at the head of the Roman commission in Greece, thought it his duty to interpose. He had just settled a difference between the Achæans and

[38] Polybius, l. xx. c. 9. et seq. [39] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 22.

Messenians, and united the latter people to the Achæan league. With equal address he had prevailed on the Achæans to cede the island Zacynthus to Rome, telling them, among other arguments, that Achaia, like a tortoise, must confine itself for safety within its shell of Peloponnesus.[40] From Ægium, in Achaia, he crossed the Corinthian gulph to the Roman camp before Naupactus. Having appeared at the foot of the walls, he was recognised by the besieged, who, though of all nations in Greece the most adverse to his public views, yet retained much personal regard for a man whose valour was coupled with humanity, and whose harshest proceedings were seasoned with pleasantry. The Etolians called to him from their walls to intercede in their behalf, and save a whole people from destruction. He made a sign to them, that the consul only could help them; then repairing to this commander, said, "I am doubtful, Acilius, whether you are unacquainted with the transactions now passing in Greece, or knowing, disregard them. After repelling Antiochus, you have been wasting the time of your consulship, just ready to expire, first in assaulting Heraclæa, and now in besieging Naupactus, while Philip has been reaping all the best fruits of your victory over the king of Syria, in which he had no share. Yet the interest of Rome is less concerned in taking Naupactus, than in curbing the ambition of Philip, who has

[40] Plutarch. in Flamin.

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acquired Perrhæbia, Aperantia, and Athamania; and subdued more nations in Greece than the Romans have gained cities." The consul, with some reluctance yielded to the authority of Quintius, and committed the Etolians to his management. In a conference with their magistrates, he prevailed on them to send ambassadors to Rome, and to trust to the clemency of the senate.[41] The legions then retired into winter quarters in Phocis. Quintius, accompanied by the consul, returned from Naupactus to Ægium, where their attention was occupied in hearing embassies from the Epirots and from Philip, and in adjusting petty quarrels in Peloponnesus, which, as they revived with greater heat hereafter, will then be more fitly explained.

Antiochus's measures for defence. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B.C. 191.

When Antiochus returned to Ephesus, Hannibal, his only counsellor, who had either sagacity to foresee future events, or boldness to announce them, assured the trembling monarch that he would be soon called to fight the Romans *in* Asia and *for* Asia.[42] In spite of the perfidious flattery of his Greek courtiers, who would have lulled him to a fatal security, the firm remonstrances of the Carthaginian awaked his sense of danger, and made him prepare for defence by arms and alliances. With such vessels as were ready at Ephesus, he sailed to the Chersonesus of Thrace, and reinforced his garrisons there: Polyxenidas had orders to equip the remainder of the fleet with all possible

[41] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 34. et seq.

[42] Ibid. c. 41.

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expedition; numerous ships of observation and advice boats were diffused over the coasts of Greece and the islands; so that whether the Romans approached on the side of Thrace, or transported their armies across the Ægean sea, he might be apprised of their movements, and enabled to oppose them efficaciously and quickly. In Lesser Asia, his rich central provinces of Lydia and Phrygia would furnish convenient quarters for the great reinforcements which were assembling from the East; and though Lampsacus and Smyrna still refused to open their gates, all the neighbouring seaports were conquered, and even those obstinate cities were sinking under the hardships of a rigorous blockade.

His allies.

With regard to allies, his prospects were not unfavourable. Six independent powers, indeed, had arisen in the peninsula of Asia, at the expense of the Syrian monarchy; and the most considerable of these powers, namely, Pergamus and the Rhodians, were unalterably hostile to Antiochus. But this prince had espoused the daughter of Mithridates IV. of Pontus, and sister to Pharnaces I. now on the throne: he had given his daughter in marriage to Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia; he had entered into treaty with the Gauls, or Galatians, who, though fallen from their ancient predominancy, were still a warlike people; and he hoped to gain Prusias I. of Bithynia, a prince of considerable vigour, who had carried on wars against the Greek cities on the Euxine, and is called

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Prusias the Lame, from a wound which he received by the fall of a scaling ladder in the siege of Heraclæa.[43]

The Roman fleet sails to Delos. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B.C. 191.

Meanwhile the Romans had been diligent in assembling the maritime strength of Magna Græcia and Sicily. It was entrusted to the pretor Livius, who, while his countrymen still besieged Naupactus, crossed over from Brundusium to Corcyra, and thence sailing to the Peloponnesus, doubled the promontory of Malea, and made for the Piræus. In this harbour Atilius, whom Livius superseded in command, resigned to him in good condition twenty-five decked ships. A small squadron sent by the Carthaginians had joined him on the coast of Italy, and another under Eumenes of Pergamus had met him near the promontory of Scyllæum, in Argolis; so that his whole fleet amounted to eighty-one decked galleys, besides innumerable open vessels also equipped for war, and many others without beaks, which answered the purpose of tenders and advice boats. With this fleet, he sailed towards Delos, and was long delayed among the dangerous friths of the stormy Cyclades. Antiochus's spy boats had observed the motions of the enemy, and given intimation of them to Polyxenidas, the Syrian commander, at Ephesus. Polyxenídas communicated the news to his master, who returned with expedition to that harbour.[44]

43 Memnon apud Phot. p. 727. Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac & Polybius, l. xxi. c. 9.

44 Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 42.

Polyxenidas strongly recommended a battle. He said that no Rhodian ships, and but few Pergamenians, had yet joined the Romans; that the vessels of the last mentioned people were at best heavy sailers, and being employed at a distance from home, were encumbered with baggage and provisions; that his master's ships were of a far nimbler shape, carried nothing but what was necessary in time of action, and would not fail to derive great advantage in these seas from their superior acquaintance with the currents, winds, and coasts. The opinion of Polyxenidas had the greater weight, because the same man who advised fighting, also pledged himself to conquer. He put to sea with an hundred ships, of which seventy were decked, but none of them exceeding the ordinary rate of trireme galleys; for the dreadful storm that overtook Antiochus in his unfortunate expedition against Egypt, had destroyed all his larger and more unmanageable vessels. Polyxenidas sailed first to Phocæa, and then to Cyssuns, on the same Ionian coast, and in the strait about eight miles broad, separating the territory of Cyssuns from the isle of Chios, determined to wait the enemy's arrival on the Asian shore, and to seize the first fair occasion of encountering him in battle.

Polyxenidas the Syrian admiral, waits for it in the strait of Chios.

The Romans, as soon as the winds permitted, disengaged themselves from the intricate windings of the Archipelago, and sailed northward to Chios; from thence they crossed over to Phocæa, which the Syrians had recently quitted,

Sea-fight near Corycus. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B.C. 191.

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Syrians. His rowers were ordered to plunge their oars to the greatest depth possible, that the vessel might be kept steady: grappling irons were then thrown into the enemy's ships; the sea-fight being thus reduced to the likeness of a pitched battle, Livius exhorted his men to be mindful of their own virtue, and maintain their natural superiority over the slaves of a despot. The contest was but short; for the single Roman ship captured the two Syrians, more easily than the two Syrians had mastered the single Carthaginian. The squadrons on both sides now began a general engagement, in which Eumenes gained great honour. Polyxenidas, after the loss of thirteen ships taken and ten sunk, made all sail for Ephesus, and gained shelter there, through the superior swiftness of his ships. In pursuing him thither, the Romans were overtaken at sea by twenty-five Rhodian galleys, which had come under Pausistratus to their assistance. With this reinforcement they followed the enemy to Ephesus, and bade him defiance before that harbour. The Rhodians and Eumenes then returned home: the Romans first landed to refresh their rowers at Chios; they afterwards proceeded to Phocæa, and leaving four quinqueremes to guard that conquest, sailed with the remainder of their fleet to the friendly port of Canæ, belonging to king Eumenes, distant only five miles from Elæa, his principal harbour. At the approach of winter, the Roman ships were drawn on shore at Canæ,

The fleets laid up during winter.

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The consul Acilius blockades Amphissa. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B.C. 190.

and defended, according to custom, by ditches and ramparts.[45]

During these proceedings on the coast of Asia, the consul Acilius had been employed in alternately fighting and negociating with the Etolians. That people had been permitted to send ambassadors to Rome, with the hopes of obtaining moderate terms of peace. But the senate regarded them as a nation lawless, and irreclaimable; and would hear of no treaty short of unconditional submission, and the payment of the enormous fine of a thousand talents. The Etolians therefore flew to arms; and as they doubted not that the siege of Naupactus would be resumed, exerted their utmost skill and labour to render the place impregnable. In this they succeeded so completely, that Acilius, instead of renewing his attacks on Naupactus, laid siege to Amphissa, a city in Locris, bridled with a strong Etolian garrison.[46]

The Scipios sent into Greece — their preparations. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B.C. 190.

During the blockade of Amphissa, the consul received news of the appointment of his successor, and of the vast preparations at Rome for prosecuting the war. As Antiochus was assisted by the abilities of Hannibal, the Romans had judiciously opposed to him Lucius Scipio, the brother of Publius Scipio Africanus, because, on condition that the former should be named consul, with Asia for his province, the latter offered to accompany him as second in command. In addition to the forces to be re-

[45] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 44, 45. [46] Id. l. xxxvii. c. 5.

ceived in Greece from Acilius, Lucius carried with him a consular army, reinforced by five thousand veterans, who, after their stipulated services were at an end, flocked eagerly to his standard, in hopes of reaping as much glory under the younger brother in Asia, as they had already acquired under the elder in Africa. The fleet, under Livius, was to be reinforced by twenty trireme galleys; and thirty ships of a larger size were getting ready in the harbours of Magna Græcia and Sicily. A friendly embassy had been received from Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra (for that princess had frustrated the hopes of her father, and entered into all the views of her husband), promising their most zealous co-operation with the Romans, if, instead of being contented with Lesser Asia, they pursued the common enemy even into Syria. Little advantage was expected from their military aid; but money abounded in Egypt, and corn might be obtained there in any quantity, to augment the ample stores already provided of this article in Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia; and which were ready to be transported wherever the service against Antiochus required.[47]

The siege of Amphissa raised.

When these previous arrangements had been made, the Scipios crossed the Hadriatic from Brundusium to Apollonia, marched through Epirus and Thessaly, and encamped in Locris, about six miles from the besieged city Amphissa. They were visited there by many con-

[47] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 2. & 3.

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gratulatory embassies of the Greeks, particularly of the Athenians, who, probably in consequence of bribes distributed among their orators and leading men, interceded in behalf of the deluded Etolians, now threatened with total ruin. At the interposition of the Athenians, the most ancient allies of Rome in those parts, Lucius granted the Etolians a truce of six months, yielding, it is said, to his brother Africanus, who always inclined to the side of clemency. But affairs now occupied his own mind far more inviting than a war among the barren rocks and intricate dens of Etolia. The siege of Amphissa was raised; and Acilius delivered the army, which had been employed in it, to the consul.[48]

Tiberius Gracchus sent to sound the intentions of Philip. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B.C. 190.

For marching safely to the Hellespont, a free passage through Macedon was essentially requisite. The consul, therefore, by the advice of Africanus, determined to penetrate the real intentions of Philip; and for this purpose suddenly dispatched to him Tiberius Gracchus, father to the unfortunate patriot of that name, then in the fervour of youth, but sagacious, penetrating, endowed with daring enterprise and indefatigable activity. From Amphissa, Gracchus, on the third day, reached Pella, a rough journey with many circuitous windings, and stretching a hundred and fifty miles in direct distance. His arrival was immediately notified to Philip, then merry at table with his friends.

[48] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 7.

Serious business could not be immediately entered on, but young Gracchus was invited to take his seat at the festive board, and had an opportunity of seeing the king without ceremony, and his courtiers without disguise. The following days, Philip rode out with his guest, showed him that the roads through his kingdom were in high order, that the rivers had every where good bridges, and that his magazines were well stored with all necessary accommodations for a great army. He then dismissed him with assurances, that every conveniency which Macedon afforded, should be at the consul's orders. Gracchus made haste back to communicate this agreeable intelligence; and met the Scipios at Thaumaci, thirty miles short of Amphissa. Thenceforward, the army pursued its march of nearly four hundred miles in a direct distance to the Hellespont, having received on the way all imaginable assistance from Philip, who highly recommended himself to the Scipios, not only by this essential service, but by his pliant good humour, his urbanity and pleasantry.[49]

Philip aids the Romans on their march towards the Hellespont.

While the Roman army performed its long and laborious journey, events happened in Asia calculated deeply to affect the result of this expedition. Antiochus was in Phrygia, mustering the troops in that province: Polyxenidas commanded the Syrian fleet at Ephesus, and was kept in check by the Rhodians, who had come

Disposition of Antiochus's forces.

[49] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 7.

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with thirty-six sail to Samos: Hannibal was employed in collecting naval reinforcements from the coasts of Syria and Phœnicia; and Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, lay with a great army in Lydia, watching the motions of Eumenes and the Romans, who had not remained idle in their fortified harbours of Elæa and Canæ, but, at the head of about ten thousand men, had spread devastation from the frontiers of Pergamus to the foot of the mountains that overhang Lydian Theatira. But these incursions were intended chiefly to create alarm; for when Livius, who commanded the Roman fleet at Canæ, heard of the consul's march towards the Hellespont, he sailed for the narrow seas with thirty triremes of his own, and seven quadriremes belonging to Eumenes, to possess himself of the harbours on either side, and to facilitate the transportation of his countrymen.[50]

The Syrian admiral takes the Rhodian fleet by treachery. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B.C. 190.

In this state of affairs, Polyxenidas, Antiochus's admiral, being himself a Rhodian exile, entered into a secret correspondence with his fellow-citizen Pausistratus, who commanded in opposition to him the Rhodian fleet at Samos. Polyxenidas expressed his longing anxiety to return once more into the bosom of his beloved country; "having lived the subject of equal laws and regular government, he reluctantly obeyed the arbitrary caprices of a foreign despot:" in a word, he promised to Pausistratus that, as the price of his services in helping him

[50] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 10.

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to recover the citizenship of Rhodes, he would readily betray into his hands Antiochus's fleet. After measures had been concerted for executing this scheme with much precaution as it seemed, on both sides, and the too confiding temper of Pausistratus had been lulled into perfect security, Polyxenidas sailed in full force to Samos, and instead of the surrender expected from him, attacked the Rhodians unprepared, and made himself master of their whole armament, except seven vessels, which escaped by the dangerous expedient of projecting blazing fires from their prows, and thereby obliging the assailants to give them free passage. Pausistratus was slain fighting bravely to repair the unhappy effects of his credulity. The success of Polyxenidas's stratagem, more worthy of a Cretan than a Rhodian, restored Phocæa, Cymé, and several places of less note, to the dominion of Antiochus.[51]

The Romans deliberate with their allies about blocking up the harbour of Ephesus.

Upon the news of these events, Livius, who had begun to attack Abydus, raised the siege of that place, and returned with the squadron employed in the Hellespont to join his ships under repair at Canæ. The Rhodians, indignant at the fraud practised on them by their exiled citizen, exerted the utmost diligence in their dock yards, and having equipped twenty sail, dispatched them under Eudamus to the same Pergamenian harbour. The Romans, thus reinforced, ventured to brave the lately victorious

[51] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 8, 9.

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Polyxenidas before Ephesus; and when they could not provoke him to battle even by insulting depredations on the coast, returned triumphant to the opposite shore of Samos, which afforded the fittest station for watching the Syrian fleet, and hindering it from leaving Ephesus without an engagement. In this state of affairs, Emilius Regillus arrived from Rome, appointed to succeed Livius. He had no sooner assumed the naval command than he summoned to a council of war Livius, king Eumenes, and the commanders of the Rhodians. The question was, how to tie up the enemy's hands at Ephesus, while they should themselves acquire full scope for action? Livius, who was first asked his opinion, proposed to reduce the ships of burthen to hulks, and after loading them heavily with ballast, thus to sink them at the mouth of the Ephesian harbour. But when this expedient was rejected as inefficacious, because the hulks, it was thought, might be easily weighed up, and the enemy left at liberty either to pursue the voyage to the narrow seas, or to harass the territory of Eumenes, it was advised by Eucrates, second in command among the Rhodians, that while the main fleet continued to block up Ephesus, a squadron should sail to Lycia, a country of great maritime resources, from which Antiochus expected immediate and powerful reinforcements.

Unsuccessful expedition against Lycia.

The expedition against the Lycians, who might be gained, it was hoped, chiefly through negociation, was entrusted to Livius, assisted by

Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B.C. 190.

four Rhodian quadriremes and some open galleys belonging to Smyrna. In sailing along the Carian coast, Livius easily obtained the submission, or the alliance, as it was then called, of Miletus, Hallicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cōs. But when he turned his arms against Patara, the principal sea-port of Lycia, this city made such a stout resistance, that he thought proper to relinquish an enterprise which had proved fatal to many of his bravest men, and speedily to quit the Lycian coast. The Rhodians who had accompanied him, proceeded to their own island; and Livius, instead of returning to the Roman fleet, passed hastily the shores of Asia and made for Thessaly, in order to meet the Scipios, then on their march through that country.[52] Regillus, justly offended at these proceedings, sailed for Patara with the greater part of his fleet. On his way thither, he attempted to reduce Iassus in Caria, which contained a strong garrison belonging to Antiochus. The place was not to be taken without destroying the peaceful inhabitants with their dwellings; and as several Iassian exiles served on board the besieging fleet, their petitions, backed by the intercession of Eumenes and the Rhodians, saved Iassus from assault. During these transactions, murmurs arose among the military tribunes, that Regillus, through his resentment against Livius, and his eagerness to accomplish a design in which that commander had disgracefully failed, had been carried from the main

[52] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 14—16.

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object of the war, and had left the territories of the Roman allies at the mercy of Antiochus's forces by sea and land. Regillus was conscious of having exposed himself to this reproach. To obtain an honourable excuse for abandoning the design on which he had sailed, the Rhodians, whose commerce made them acquainted with every neighbouring harbour, were interrogated as to the conveniencies that might be found at Patara; and when they affirmed that it was unable to afford shelter to the whole fleet, Regillus gave orders for returning with all haste to Samos.[53]

Antiochus invades the territory of Pergamus. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B. C. 190.

But before he arrived there, the evils which had been foreseen from his absence, had happened. Though the Syrian fleet remained quiet at Ephesus, Seleucus had invaded the dominions of Eumenes by land, and after a bold attempt for surprising, on that side, the harbour of Elæa. laid siege to Pergamus. To co-operate in this enterprise, Antiochus had moved with a great army from Phrygia, and encamped near to his son on the river Caicus, which flows from mount Sipylus in Lydia into the bay of Elæa. Apprised of these events by his brother and vicegerent Attalus, Eumenes hastened from Samos to Elæa; and, under an escort of cavalry and light infantry, which had been provided there for the occasion, threw himself into his besieged capital. The Roman and Rhodian fleet soon after followed him to the harbour of Elæa, eager

[53] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 17.

to afford their utmost assistance to so meritorious an ally. About the same time Antiochus was informed that the Scipios were marching in great force through Macedon. This news, and the junction of so many of his enemies in one harbour, determined him again to have recourse to embassies. But Eumenes, who knew that if the Romans suspended their warfare in Asia, he must be left at the mercy of an exasperated adversary, used every means to defeat the negociation; and at his instances chiefly, Regillus cut off all amicable intercourse, by declaring that no accommodation could take place before the consul's arrival. Upon this absolute refusal to treat upon any terms, Antiochus committed merciless ravages on the Pergamenian territory; and leaving his son Seleucus to prosecute the siege of its capital, marched northwards to assault Adramyttium, and the rich contiguous plain, famed in the heroic ages for Thebé, the sacred city of Aëtion. Eumenes, after concerting proper measures for the defence of Pergamus, hastened to save Adramyttium and the beautiful district in its neighbourhood, the garden and the pride of his little kingdom. He arrived in time for that purpose, accompanied by his own and part of the Roman fleet; the siege of Adramyttium was raised, and Antiochus, tired with desolating its territory, returned to muster his forces at Sardes. The measures taken for the defence of Pergamus were, meanwhile, crowned with success, in consequence of a reinforcement of a thousand infantry and a

Which is defended by Eumenes and his allies.

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hundred horse from Achaia, which Diophanes, the pupil of Philopœmen, had contrived to throw into the besieged city. By the example of this handful of men, all veterans, and actuated by the warmest zeal in defence of their Pergamenian allies, such successful sallies were made, that Seleucus thought proper to remove his camp to the sea-coast, and remained there until more forces should be collected.[54]

Who retort Antiochus's depredations by plundering the isle of Bacchium.

After affording seasonable relief to Adramyttium, Eumenes and the Romans sailed to Elæa; and from thence, to retort the injuries recently done by the enemy, undertook an expedition against Phocæa, now garrisoned by three thousand Syrians. But, since the recovery of the place, Antiochus had rendered it so strong, that it was not to be taken without more powerful engines than the assailants were provided with, or the waste of more time than they could conveniently spare. They contented themselves therefore with making a descent on the small island Bacchium, considered as the suburb or appendage to Phocæa: and in resentment of the enemy's merciless depredations in the plain of Thebé, plundered even the temples of Bacchium, and carried off the exquisite statues in which they signally abounded.[55]

The Romans and Rhodians intercept the enemy's suc-

After this expedition, which was attended with more disgrace on one side than detriment on the other, Eumenes sailed northward to the Hellespont, to assist the Scipios in their passage;

[54] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 19—21. [55] Ibid. c. 21.

the Romans proceeded in a contrary direction to Samos, to watch the motions of Polyxenidas, who still kept his station at Ephesus. The fleets of the Romans and Rhodians had hardly joined at Samos, when they learned that a great naval reinforcement was sailing to Polyxenidas from Syria, under the command of Apollonius and Hannibal. Eudamus and the Rhodians determined immediately to put to sea in order to intercept it. On their way eastward, they touched at Rhodes, and found that the magistrates of their island had already fitted out a squadron on the same errand on which they were sailing. They overtook this squadron at sea, and proceeded in company with it to Phaselis in Lycia, from which city, or rather the lofty promontory in its neighbourhood, they were likely best to descry the enemy's approach. Under the shelter of this lofty foreland, the Rhodians took their station, amounting to thirty-two quadriremes and four triremes. But they had not continued long there, when the sultry air, for it was midsummer, corrupted by marshy exhalations, bred diseases in the fleet, and obliged them to cross the Pamphylian gulph to the mouth of the Eurymedon. There, they learned that the Syrians, commanded by Apollonius and Hannibal, were at Sida; and after they had doubled the cape that projects before that Pamphylian city, they immediately got sight of the enemy and were distinctly perceived by them. The royal fleet consisted of ten trireme galleys, and thirty-seven vessels of a far

cours from Syria, under Hannibal and Apollonius.

Sea-fight near the mouth of the Eurymedon. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B.C. 190.

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larger size, either built recently in Phœnicia, or repaired after the disastrous expedition against Egypt. The great inequality of force did not deter the Rhodians. The Syrians were not unwilling to encounter them; and, had they been otherwise disposed, could not, on account of the swiftness of the enemy's ships, have avoided an engagement. For this, both parties prepared; but the Rhodians with such superiority of skill and activity as tended much to dishearten their adversaries. Their pre-eminence was still more conspicuous when the action commenced. Dexterously eluding the assaults of the enemy's prows, they swept off their oars on either side; and often breaking through their line, wounded their sterns. In this manner, a Syrian vessel of seven banks of oars was assailed by a small Rhodian trireme, and sunk by a single stroke. Such decided superiority in seamanship occasioned dismay in the whole right wing; and Hannibal, who had stretched out to sea, and begun to fight bravely on the left, was recalled by signal from Apollonius's admiral galley. He returned in time only to behold the total discomfiture of his friends, and was compelled to join in their flight. The Rhodians, who had exerted themselves beyond their natural strength in the action, especially as they were still labouring under the effects of the malady contracted at Phaselis, had neither power nor inclination to follow up their victory. On pretence that they were in danger of being wind-bound on a hostile coast, they relaxed

their pursuit, and began to have recourse to their refreshments. Eudamus, their commander, whose ship had been crippled in the battle, called to them in this situation to behold a glorious sight; the Syrians flying in scattered disorder, many sinking under the wounds which they had received, others drawn with difficulty by row-boats, and little more than twenty of the whole number in a condition to reach, by their own efforts, the friendly coast of Pamphylia. By this action, the present measures of Antiochus were entirely disconcerted; and to render them equally abortive in future, twenty Rhodian galleys, under Charicletus, took their station near Patara in Lycia; the remainder, commanded by Eudamus, returned to the Romans[56] at Samos.

Negociations with Prusias king of Bithynia.

During these transactions, Antiochus had been employed in a fruitless negociation with Prusias of Bithynia. The Syrian laboured to persuade Prusias that the Romans were relentless enemies to kings, and that good policy, nay, necessity, required that he should immediately declare against them. The Scipios counteracted this application by friendly letters to Prusias, and by sending Livius, who had recently commanded the Roman fleet, as ambassador to Nicomedia. Livius had little difficulty in persuading the Bithynian to maintain a strict neutrality. He vindicated his countrymen from reproach, by shewing that they were hostile to

56 Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 23, 24.

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those kings only, whose immoderate lust of power had first rendered them enemies to the best interests of their people: that Philip, after his defeat, had been treated with lenity, nay kindness; and that Nabis, tyrant as he was, and traitor to his Roman allies, might have still continued king of Sparta, had he not been destroyed by his own fury, and the fraud of the Etolians.[57]

Regillus the Roman admiral sails to seize the enemy's wine in Teios. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B. C. 190.

Antiochus, baffled in his hopes of gaining Prusias, moved from Sardes to Ephesus, where the high order in which Polyxenidas had put his fleet, served to make compensation for many disappointments. He determined, once more, to try the fortune of a sea-fight, and, to bring the Romans to the same resolution, laid siege to Colophon. The Romans, as had been expected, sailed from Samos with an intention to assist their Colophonian allies; but had occasion first to touch at Chios, their principal store-house in those parts. There, Regillus learned, that great magazines of corn had been indeed collected, but that his round-ships bearing wine, had been delayed by adverse winds; whereas a large quantity of that article belonging to the enemy, had been deposited at Teios, an Ionian city, on the coast between Samos and Chios. To gain possession of this prize, amounting to five thousand skins of wine, Regillus made for Teios, and, in approaching land, discovered fifteen vessels, which he supposed to make part of An-

His encounter with pirates.

[57] Polybius, l. xxi. c. 9. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 25.

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tiochus's fleet. He immediately gave them chace, and was surprised to find that they shaped their course towards the craggy promontory of Myonnesus, six miles south-east of Teios. They were in fact swift sailing pirates, so flat in their construction that they could easily run into any creek. Before the Romans could overtake them, they had landed under some projecting rocks, whose foundations, eat away by the dashing waves, canopied the adjacent sea, and threatened to overwhelm every vessel that approached them. There the fearless pirates had moored their fleet, at the same time that they occupied the shelving heights above, and prepared to ply with missile weapons any enemy by whom their ships might be assailed. The Romans and Rhodians retired with some degree of terror from yawning caverns and nodding precipices, defended by actors as desperate as the scene was savage; and, according to their original destination, directed their course to Teios.[58]

Sea-fight of Myonnesus near Teios. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B. C. 190.

The wine, which formed the object of their voyage, was demanded and refused. The sailors landed to enforce compliance; and when the Teians persevered in obstinacy, scattered themselves over the territory, which they subjected to military execution. In this state of affairs, it became known that a great fleet was putting to sea, from the small and obscure island of Aspis, about ten miles from Teios in the way to

[58] Polybius, l. xxi. c. 9. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 27.

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Colophon. This was the armament of Polyxenidas, who had sailed from the last named place, in hopes that he had gained the long-wished opportunity of surprising the enemy. News of his appearance occasioned much trepidation; the disembarked sailors ran to their ships; Regillus hastened to the admiral galley, and formed his line with such ships as could successively be got ready. Eudamus remained on shore to direct the embarkation. When the combined fleets had proceeded to sea, they descried the Syrians approaching, at first with two ships only in front, then gradually forming the line abreast, until the Syrian left extended considerably beyond their own right. But Eudamus, who was in the rear, perceiving this manœuvre, which threatened to surround his allies and throw them into confusion, darted with celerity to the right; and, having restored the equality in front, boldly opposed his own ship to that bearing the ensign of Polyxenidas.

The Syrians defeated.

His example inspired alacrity; the whole ships of either party engaged; forty-eight on the side of the Romans, and eighty-eight on that of the Syrians. Notwithstanding their inferiority in number, the seamanship of the Rhodians and the dauntless bravery of the Romans obtained a complete victory. Thirteen Syrian ships were taken, and twenty-nine sunk or burned; for the Rhodians, as on former occasions, carried blazing fires on their prows, which contrivance chiefly contributed to their signal success. The enemy's line was also repeatedly broke through, so that

they were overpowered in many places between a double attack. Scarcely half their number escaped to Ephesus under favour of a western gale.[59]

Consternation and weak measures of Antiochus.

The battle of Myonnesus confirmed the superiority of the Romans at sea; and Antiochus was no longer able to dispute their passage into Asia. He saw this consequence with a degree of concern and trepidation, which seemed to deprive him of his understanding.[60] His garrisons in Lysimachia, and other places in the Chersonesus, which he had provided so amply with every thing necessary for defence, that they might have long detained the Scipios before their walls, were hastily and pusillanimously withdrawn from posts deemed no longer tenable. The siege of Colophon was raised, and Antiochus retired fifty miles inland to Sardes, to review some reinforcements just arrived there from his son-in-law Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. The victorious fleet refitted at Chios; and Regillus sent thirty of his own ships to assist in transporting the army across the Hellespont, expecting that the Rhodians, decorated with naval trophies, would have been in haste to return to their own island. But the generous zeal of the Rhodians made them accompany their allies northward; nor did they think of sailing to Rhodes, until the Romans had made good their landing in Asia. Meanwhile Regillus,

[59] Polybius, l. xxi. c. 29. & 30.

[60] Θεου βλαπτοντος ηδη τους λογισμους. Appian. de Reb. Syr. c. 28.

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after braving the enemy before Ephesus, recovered possession of Phocæa; a harbour recommended by its conveniency and safety, and of which the acquisition seemed the more desirable as winter was fast approaching. [61]

The Romans land in Asia. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B. C. 190.

The Scipios were on their march through Maronea and Ænos in Thrace, when they were apprised of the battle of Myonnesus and of the evacuation of Lysimachia. The latter event filled them with no less pleasure than wonder, since Lysimachia would afford them an agreeable halting-place at their journey's end, with all necessary accommodations provided at the expense of the enemy. On the other side of the water, Eumenes, faithful to his promise, had exerted great and successful diligence in preparing every thing needful for their reception. The consul at the head of his army, landed in Asia with as much safety as he could have done in Italy: but two circumstances prevented him from marching immediately against Antiochus.

Delayed by two circumstances from marching against Antiochus.

Before his arrival at the Hellespont, the time appropriate to the Salian festival had come round, in which the priests of Mars carried in procession the Ancilia, or sacred shields, those venerated pledges of the glory awaiting the republic. This ceremony detained only a few days the army and its general; but compelled Africanus, himself a Salian priest, under the most religious obligation, to remain during the whole period assigned for the festival,

[61] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 32.

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in the same place where the beginning of it had overtaken him. He did not therefore land in Asia, until a considerable time after his brother.[62] The second circumstance that retarded the march, was a visit which the duty of filial reverence made the Romans pay to Troy, the mother country from which they gloried to have sprung, because ennobled by the exploits of men worthy to be their progenitors. From this immortal district, the cities of Dardanus and Rhetium sent deputations to meet the Romans on the Trojan plain. The natives and strangers then ascended in friendly bands to Ilium and its citadel, that they might there sacrifice to Minerva; the Romans delighting in the cordial hospitality of those whom they revered as their parents; the Trojans rejoicing in the lofty destinies of their offspring, who, having subdued Europe and Africa, now came to recover their more ancient dominion in Asia.[63]

Their visit to Troy.

During the delay occasioned by the first of these halts, Antiochus, who, in the midst of his anxieties, was ready to lay hold of every circumstance however trifling, that could be favourably construed, sent his ambassador Heraclides of Byzantium to the Romans, as if they had stopped short in order to leave room for negociation. His firmer hopes were founded on the disposition of Africanus, who, already satiated with glory, would the more naturally incline to peace; and even on the gratitude of

Antiochus endeavours to obtain peace.

[62] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 33.

[63] Ibid. c. 37.

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that general, because his son having fallen into the hands of Antiochus in the beginning of the war (captured, it is most likely, on the coast of Eubœa,) was then a prisoner with the king, and treated by him with every indulgence that could soothe his confinement. Heraclides first addressed himself publicly to the consul in the assembly of his lieutenants and military tribunes. He observed that, to obtain peace, Antiochus had already evacuated Lysimachia, and was ready to desist from all pretensions to Lampsacus and Smyrna: that, having thus yielded the points for which the war had been begun, he was farther willing to defray one-half of the expense which the Romans had incurred in the prosecution of it. He was answered that, as the Romans had taken arms to emancipate the Greek cities in Asia, their object could not be secured unless Antiochus relinquished all the territory on this side mount Taurus; and that, as the king's ambition only was to blame, not one-half, but the whole expense of the war, must be defrayed by him. To obtain abatement in these demands, Heraclides had recourse privately to Africanus, endeavouring to tempt him with bribes, and giving him assurances that his son should speedily be restored to him; a youth of great promise, but whose fame disappears between the splendour of Africanus his father, and of Emilianus his adopted son. The former thus answered the ambassador, "I am less surprised that you should not know the Romans, than that you should be ignorant of

Terms proposed by his ambassadors;

Rejected.

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the condition of your own master. After relinquishing the defences of Lysimachia and the Hellespont, and having allowed the Romans to pass quietly into Asia, Antiochus may be compared to a horse that has not only admitted the rein, but patiently received a rider. I shall accept my son, from his hands, as the highest personal favour; and shall be ready to repay him by every personal service in my power. But, as to public affairs, I can do nothing for his interest, except by giving him this one advice, that he accept any terms of peace however unreasonable they may appear to him."[64]

Antiochus takes post at Magnesia near mount Sipylus.

Shortly after this transaction, the Romans proceeded to Troy, and from thence, in six marches, to the river Caicus, which flows on the southern frontier of Pergamus. Eumenes, in order to join them, had purposed returning by sea from the Hellespont to Elæa; but as contrary winds hindered him from doubling the promontory of Lectum, he quitted his fleet, and proceeded by land, through the nearest route, to have part in the decisive conflict that now seemed inevitable. About the same time that Eumenes arrived in the camp, Scipio Africanus was obliged, by indisposition, to leave it. He was conveyed to Elæa; and continued in a languishing state, until an event most pleasing to his mind, produced effects highly salutary to his body. This was an embassy from Antiochus, restoring to him his long captive son. Africanus

64 Polyb. l. xxi. c. 11, 12. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 36.

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expressed much gratitude to the Syrian ambassadors, which he enjoined them to convey in the warmest terms to their master, with an advice, the only remuneration in his power, that Antiochus should not fight the Romans, until the man, whom he had so highly obliged, had rejoined their camp. Upon receiving this message, Antiochus, with his army of seventy thousand foot and above twelve thousand horse, fell back from the neighbourhood of Theatira where he then lay, and having passed the river Phrygius or Hyllus, encamped at Magnesia, an Ionian city about forty miles inland from the harbour of Phocæa, and situate at no great distance from mount Sipylus, and still nearer to the confluence of the rivers Hyllus and Hermus. This convenient post he carefully fortified with a double rampart, flanked with towers, purposing to keep on the defensive until Africanus rejoined his brother. [65]

Decisive battle of Magnesia. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B. C. 190.

The Romans, eager for battle, advanced from the left bank of the Caicus, first in the direction of Theatira; but when they heard of Antiochus's removal from that place, they proceeded southward to the Hyllus, and encamped on its right bank, only four miles from the enemy. They had scarcely occupied this ground, when the Dahæ, a Scythian tribe from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes, intermixed with Gauls or Galatians, men equally fierce and still more presumptuous, ventured to cross the Hyllus, and

[65] Polyb. l. xxi. c. 11, 12. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 37.

made furious assaults on the Roman outposts. These irregulars were repelled with considerable loss, and both armies remained quiet for two days. On the third, the Romans passed in close ranks the Hyllus, and encamped, notwithstanding much molestation from chosen bodies of the enemy, at the distance of two miles from his lines. During the four succeeding days, both armies maintained a threatening posture before their respective entrenchments; but, when the fifth morning arose, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain; without exciting, however, any corresponding ardour on the side of the Syrians. The consul, perceiving their great unwillingness to come to a general engagement, called a council of war, or rather an assembly of his soldiers. He told them, that, if the battle was deferred, they must either, as winter was at hand, be cooped up within their leathern tents, or, by going into winter quarters, postpone to a future season the triumph of their arms. They exclaimed unanimously, "Lead us to the hostile camp; the ramparts of the Syrians will not resist our valour." After Cneius Domitius, who, in the absence of Africanus, acted as second in command, had carefully examined the intermediate ground, the Romans advanced their standards; and at the same time Antiochus, whose resolutions were all taken precipitately, and never consistently executed, also proceeded from his camp. The Romans speedily arrayed themselves in their well known triple order; their main body con-

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sisting of four legions, amounted to twenty-one thousand and six hundred men; their allies, intermixed with a few squadrons of cavalry on the flanks, were nearly half that number; among whom three thousand had been supplied by Eumenes, and a large body of Thracians and Macedonians by Philip. Antiochus's vast army presented to a military eye a spectacle more gorgeous than terrible. His phalanx of sixteen thousand pikemen, drawn up thirty-two[66] in depth, formed its main strength; but this efficient body was clogged by an unwieldly mass of auxiliaries. Its sections were divided by tower-bearing elephants; a line of chariots, armed with scythes, encumbered its front; instead of rapid cavalry and nimble *hypaspists*, the only serviceable aids to the phalanx, Antiochus had flanked it by heavy cataphracts, while his auxiliary foot consisted of an ill-armed and motley rabble. The king was at the head of his right wing; the left was entrusted to his son Seleucus; Zeuxis and Minio commanded the centre. By means of the select body of horse, the *Agema*, still trained in the exercises which the great Alexander had taught, Antiochus broke the cavalry which opposed him, and pursued it and its auxiliary infantry towards the Roman camp. There, the tribune Emilius commanded a reserve of two thousand men, with whom he advanced to cut down the fugitives, unless they returned instantly to the charge. At the same time, Attalus came seasonably to

The phalanx defeated,—why

[66] Appian. de Reb. Syr. c. 32.

reinforce them with a body of Pergamenian horse. Antiochus was repelled in his turn; he regained, however, the field of battle, but it was only to behold the route or rather the total destruction of his army. This, in general, was all that he had time to learn; for the danger that threatened him of death or captivity, made him continue his full speed in company with a few horsemen, and advance fifty miles without halting, until he arrived, about midnight at Sardes. The victory had been gained chiefly through the abilities of Eumenes. By empty sounds, and desultory or feigned assaults, he frightened the horses drawing the scythed chariots, and thereby gave new efficacy to the obstacles which the Syrians themselves had opposed to the shock of their phalanx. That body, which was alone fitted to cope with and defeat the Romans, did not once charge in its ranks: it was disordered, and therefore easily overpowered. About fifty thousand Syrians were slain in the battle, in the pursuit, or in their fortified camp into which they had thrown themselves. Few prisoners were taken; the loss on the side of the victors is reduced by the usual misrepresentations of partiality and vanity, below the number of four hundred. From the wide variety of nations engaged, the field of battle presented a singularly chequered scene of carnage: Grecian phalangites confounded in heaps with Gallic swordsmen; Scythians with hatchets, and Persian archers strowing promiscuously the ground; Medes weltering in blood,

Eumenes had the principal share in the victory.

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with their proud Nisæan horses, and elephants with their Indian conductors; Parthian cataphracts clad, or rather shrowded, in complete steel; Arabs, near their dying camels, still grasping long and light scymetars.[67]

Peace granted to Antiochus. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B.C. 190.

When Antiochus reached Sardes, he found, that rapid as his own flight had been, his son Seleucus had yet outstripped his speed, and was then on his way to Apamea in Phrygia. The king hastened thither in the morning; traversed Phrygia, crossed mount Taurus, descended into the plain of Cilicia, penetrated the Syrian gates at Issus, and arrived with sad marks of discomfiture at his capital Antioch. Ephesus, Sardes, with all the inferior cities of Ionia and Lydia, sent offers of submission to the victors. The fleet under Polyxenidas, having learned the ruin of the co-operating army, left the Ionian coast, and sailed to Patara in Lycia. Here Polyxenidas disembarked; and, lest he should be intercepted at sea by the Rhodians, pursued the remainder of his way to Syria by land. After a short deliberation at Antioch, the king sent his nephew Antipater, and Zeuxis, who had long been his viceroy in Lydia, to beg, rather than negociate a peace. The consul had advanced to Sardes; Eumenes accompanied him; they were joined by Africanus from Elæa, only just recovered from his indisposition. In the ancient capital of Lydia, and in a council of their officers and allies, the Scipios gave audience to the two

[67] Appian. de. Reb. Syriac. c. 30—39.

Syrians, who debased their humiliating task by their abject manner of performing it. Zeuxis, who spoke in the name of both, said that they had come, not to make any proposition on the part of Antiochus, their master, but to learn from the Romans by what means that prince might atone for past errors. The battle of Magnesia, they acknowledged, was altogether decisive. On many former occasions, the Romans had signalised their clemency to conquered kings; but the exercise of the same virtue now became them more peculiarly, when the success of their arms had made them gods on earth, and required of them an imitation of those celestial beings in pardoning the frailties of men, and showing them unmerited mercy.[68]

Its conditions.

Africanus made answer, according to previous concert in the council. "With regard to power and territory, and all external advantages, the Romans possessed what the bounty of providence had conferred on them; but as to what depended merely on themselves, the temper of their own minds, it remained the same under every vicissitude of fortune. The conditions of peace, therefore, should not be materially different from those offered to Antiochus before his defeat. He must desist from every design of re-establishing his settlements on the eastern coast of Europe; after withdrawing his garrisons, he must relinquish all pretensions to Asia on this side mount Taurus; he must pay fifteen

[68] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 44, 45.

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thousand Eubœic talents to defray the expense of the war: five hundred on demand; two thousand five hundred at the ratification of peace by the senate; and the remainder by twelve annual payments of a thousand talents each, in the course of twelve years. For the performance of these articles, the Romans required twenty hostages, among whom they named the king's son, bearing also the name of Antiochus. They demanded, likewise, that Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Etolian, should be consigned into their hands. By his past delays, Antiochus treated less honourably now, than he might have done formerly; let him therefore hesitate no longer, but remember that it is easier to reduce kings from mediocrity to the lowest adversity, than to degrade them into a middle state from the pinnacle of fortune." These conditions of peace, oppressive enough in themselves, were afterwards aggravated by the senate. Antiochus was required to surrender his elephants, and all his ships of war except ten only, which were not to advance westward beyond the river Calycadmus in Cilicia, unless for the purpose of conveying ambassadors, hostages, or tribute. The mention of the Calycadmus on this occasion serves to define the doubtful expression of *Asia on this side mount Taurus*. For the Calycadmus, as well as the Halys, rises among the mountains of Cilicia, but flows southward into the Mediterranean[69], while the Halys flows northward

[69] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 670.

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into the Euxine. The opposite courses of the two rivers thus naturally divide the peninsula; and the territory to the west of them was to be left at the disposition of the Romans and their allies. In computing the tribute, the Eubœan talent had been named, because that of the greatest weight; but the senate further added, that the silver should be of the Attic standard, because this was the finest. It required also that Antiochus should pay about five hundred talents to king Eumenes, and embrace every measure necessary for living on good terms with that prince and the Rhodians. All persons belonging to the ceded territory serving in Antiochus's armies or garrisons, were to be immediately discharged by him; but such subjects of the king as had taken part with the Romans and their allies, or had by any means fallen into their hands, were either to remain or depart at pleasure.[70]

Death of Hannibal. Olymp. cxlix. 2. B. C. 283.

The whole of these conditions were accepted, and faithfully executed in as far as they depended on the Syrian king. But it was not in his power to surrender Thoas and Hannibal, the former of whom had been the furious instigator of the war, and the latter an *unfortunate* encourager of it, only because his counsels had been rejected. Hannibal sought protection successively in Crete, in Armenia, and in Bithynia, where, in the same year that Antiochus was defeated by the Romans, Prusias, surnamed the

[70] Plutarch. in Flamin. Conf. Polybius, l. xxi. c. 14. l. xxii. c. 7. & 26.

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Hunter, succeeded to Prusias the Lame. This new king of Bithynia, who is described as a vile compound of levity and effeminacy, was persuaded by Hannibal to make war on his neighbour Eumenes of Pergamus. The Romans sent Quintius Flamininus, the conqueror of Philip at Kynoscephalæ, together with Scipio, surnamed Asiaticus, from his victory at Magnesia, to mediate a peace between them. Hannibal became the victim of this embassy, either through the implacable resentment of the Romans, or the natural vileness of Prusias, who was eager to destroy a guest so obnoxious to them. Hannibal's retreat, the small fortress of Libyssa, on the coast of Bithynia, was beset by armed men; the subterranean passages, which his caution had drawn from it to the sea-shore, were at the same time obstructed. Perceiving that he could only escape his enemies by death, he is said to have drunk bull's blood like Themistocles [70], a man with whom he is allied, both in the energy of his character, and the malignancy of his fortune.

And of Thoas.

Thoas the Etolian escaped indeed the immediate vengeance of the Romans, after the defeat of Antiochus. But at the distance of several years, we know not clearly by what means, he fell into their power. At the intercession of two of his countrymen, Pantaleon and Nicander, he was released however from captivity, and again resumed the same turbulent part that he had formerly acted

[71] Conf. Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 9. Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51.

in the councils of his country. The just reproaches of those through whom he had recently recovered freedom, exposed him to summary justice from the enraged multitude.[72] He was stoned in the Etolian assembly, probably to death; since from this period, twelve years after the battle of Magnesia, he disappears from history.

Causes which detained the Scipios in Asia.

Shortly after dictating the terms of peace at Sardes, the Scipios cantoned their troops in the neighbouring cities. They, as well as Regillus, who commanded the fleet, delayed, until successors were appointed for them, to return home to their respective triumphs. Much work still remained to be done in Asia; for though the Romans purposed not to retain a foot of ground in that continent, they had to superintend the faithful execution of the treaty on the part of Antiochus; to chastise the Gauls and Cappadocians, auxiliaries to that prince; and to divide his spoils on this side mount Taurus, between their own zealous allies Eumenes and the Rhodians. The Syrian garrisons which might prove refractory to the will of their disgraced master, were to be expelled from Enos, Maronæa, and other distant strong-holds; and Roman captives, of whom many thousands had been reduced to slavery in the course of the late and preceding wars, were to be recovered from the coasts and islands to which they had been transported. For effecting these important pur-

[72] Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 4.

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poses, the consul Manlius Vulso, and the pretor Fabius Labeo, were respectively appointed to command the forces by land and sea in Asia; the other consul Fulvius Nobilior conducted reinforcements into Greece, to extinguish the embers of Antiochus's party in that country, which were still ready to be inflamed by the restless Etolians.

Effrontery of the Etolians.

That people, equally perfidious and arrogant, negociated at Rome, while their arms infested the territories of the Roman allies. To obtain impunity for their depredations, their ambassadors gave out, during the dependence of the war with Antiochus, that the Scipios had been decoyed into a conference with a view to recover the son of Africanus; and that the generals being treacherously made captive, their camp had been surprised and taken, and their whole forces destroyed. Presuming on this report, which should seem to have been credited at Rome, the Etolians rose in their demands, and behaved with so much insolence, that they were ordered to quit Rome in twenty-four hours, and to leave Italy in fifteen days. They were scarcely gone, when the wild rumour which they had raised was dispelled by Aurelius Cotta. He arrived from the camp of the Scipios to announce their decided victory, accompanied by king Eumenes in person, and by deputies from Antiochus, the Rhodians, and all the principal free cities in Lesser Asia.[73]

[73] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 48. et seq.

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Eumenes's demands made in the senate. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

On the day appointed for hearing the strangers in the senate, Eumenes had the first audience, in compliment rather to his merit as an ally, than to his royal dignity. He thanked the Romans for delivering his kingdom from invasion, and his capital from a siege; and congratulated them on their complete and illustrious success by sea and land; adding, that as to what he himself had done against the common enemy, he wished that the senators should rather learn it from the official report of their commanders, than hear it from his own mouth. The senate desired that he would mention his expectations: "important and strenuous as his exertions had been, the generosity of the Romans would equal, and, if possible, exceed them." Eumenes replied, "that if he stood in a similar relation to any other power, he would consult the wisdom of the senate, to know what requests he should make, or to what rewards he was entitled. This resolution was still more natural, when his remuneration was to proceed from the Romans themselves. He therefore submitted the affair wholly to their own discretion." The conscript fathers acknowledged the compliment, but still urged him to speak out. The king's modesty was unalterable, and rather than yield in this contest of complaisance, he abruptly left the senate-house. When surprise at his departure had subsided, some senators observed, that it was strange in Eumenes to have come to Rome without knowing his own errand: that he was better acquainted, than they were,

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with Asia; and could better tell what new acquisitions there, would suit the conveniency of his kingdom. He was accordingly brought back to the senate-house, and kindly constrained to make his demands. "My resolution," he said, "to keep silence would be invincible, did I not know, conscript fathers! that you are soon to give audience to the Rhodians. They will tell you, that your dignity and consistency are concerned in giving freedom to the Greek cities of Asia; and this proposition will be the more likely to meet with a favourable reception, because it will not appear at first sight to contain any thing injurious to me, or peculiarly advantageous to them; yet the contrary of this will be found true. The emancipation of the Greek cities, recently tributaries to Antiochus, will encourage my own subjects to rebel; I shall lose my authority, and they will not recover liberty; for the Rhodians, through the specious merit of delivering them from a foreign yoke, will subject them, under the name of allies, to a jurisdiction severer than mine. Do not then listen in this matter to the Rhodians; nor exalt them too highly by my undeserved depression. In mere questions of interest, I am not of a disposition obstinately to contend; but I will struggle to the utmost for your friendship, and the marks by which it is attested. These are hereditary possessions delivered down to me from my father, your first ally in Asia; who having co-operated with you uniformly through a long life, at last died in your service. His zeal I

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could not exceed; and, if I have surpassed his actions, my superiority in this respect is due to fortune, the times, and your war with Antiochus. That prince, master of so many kingdoms, offered me his daughter in marriage, and other splendid advantages. I boast not of rejecting his gifts, which, consistently with my devotion to you, I could not possibly have accepted; but in maintaining fidelity to Rome, which of your allies have either equalled my exertions or incurred my sufferings? My territories were ravaged, my capital was besieged; my expences in military and naval stores are without example; I have fought in every battle by sea and land; my brother and my subjects seconded my alacrity; and, wherever we were posted, our valour was successful. You still ask, senators! what are my demands? I will make a fair but reluctant answer. If, when you drove Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, you intended to occupy for yourselves the conquered territory, I should rejoice in having the Romans for my neighbours. Nothing, I know, could more effectually contribute to my happiness and security. But if you mean to withdraw your armies from Asia, I venture to affirm that none of your allies is better entitled than I am, to reap the fruits of your illustrious victory." The senate marked approbation, and Eumenes retired.[74]

Those of the Rhodians.

The ambassadors of Rhodes, who as allies stood next in merit, would have been heard

[74] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 52. et seq.

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immediately after the king of Pergamus; but it happened, unaccountably, that some persons essential to the deputation were absent; and the envoys from Smyrna being eager for admission, were therefore introduced before the Rhodians, and met with great praises from the senate, for their firmness in withstanding a long and most obstinate siege. The Rhodians, who had been missing, by this time joined their companions. They began, by deploring the necessity of obstructing any of the views of Eumenes, whom of all kings they most respected. "But our opposition," they said, "originates not in personal considerations, but in the unalterable nature of things. Kings love power, and are perpetually ambitious to extend it. Republics cherish liberty, and knowing how sweet it is, are eager to diffuse its benefits around them. But the conquests, Romans! which you have made, equally rich and extensive, will enable you, without offence to the sacred name of freedom, to reward Eumenes even to the full extent of his deserts. The countries wrested from Antiochus; Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, Pisidia and the Chersonesus, these, or part of these possessions, will swell the dominions of Pergamus to a great kingdom. In order to gratify your royal ally, it is not necessary that you should abandon the maxims which first carried your arms into Greece, and to which you adhered with so much honour to yourselves after the defeat of Philip. You gave freedom to the Greeks in Europe; bestow the same boon on those in Asia, even to

the boundary of Mount Taurus. The Greek colonies in Asia have rivalled their European ancestors in laws and arts, and every laudable pursuit. They long maintained independence by domestic strength; their minds and tempers are the same under an altered state of external fortune; they pray that the power of the sword may remain perpetually with whom it now is, and by whom it is least likely to be abused. Embrace them, therefore, with your protection; and you will acquire a real and peculiar glory in peace, surpassing that of all warlike achievements."[75] The speech seemed suitable to the magnanimity felt, at least affected, by those to whom it was addressed. The ambassadors of Antiochus were then admitted, and procured the ratification of the peace which had been formerly dictated to them at Sardes. The various deputies from the Greek cities of Asia had also their respective audiences, to all of whom the senate gave one and the same answer; namely, that ten commissioners, according to custom, would be sent speedily to examine and regulate their affairs. The outline of the new arrangement was however immediately signified to them: that the cities, which had been subject to Attalus, should continue tributary to Eumenes; and that those which had paid tribute to Antiochus should thenceforward be exempted from that burthen. In this decision, the Romans held a middle course between the

[75] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 54.

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two opposite roads proposed respectively by the Rhodians and Eumenes. Instead of emancipating, as the former had recommended, the Greek cities universally, they not only excepted, by their present resolution, those belonging to Eumenes, but their commissioners, soon after they had arrived in Asia, assigned to that prince such other cities as had most distinguished their zeal and services in the cause of Antiochus. While their decision was in this respect displeasing to the Rhodians, they gratified, on the other hand, that people, by securing freedom to all those commonwealths which either enjoyed independence at the commencement of the war, or in the course of it had sided with themselves, or which, though subject to their adversary, had afforded him only a scanty and reluctant assistance. The dominions of Antiochus in Lycia and Caria, were at the same time decreed to the Rhodians.[76] His royal forests, the territories which he held in Lydia and Mysia, the rich plains of Phrygia and Lycaonia, all these valuable countries in Asia, as well as the Thracian Chersonesus in Europe, were awarded to Eumenes. The little principality of Pergamus thus rose to a great monarchy, whose master showed himself worthy of his good fortune. His new acquisitions were governed with the same wisdom and equity that had so highly benefited and improved his patrimonial kingdom; and the Greek cities, subjected to his

[76] Polybius, l. iii. c. 3. l. xxii. c. 7.

authority, had no reason to envy the happiness of free republics.[77] The liberality of the Romans having made these splendid presents, the Rhodians were encouraged to intercede for the city of Soli in Cilicia. This was a Greek colony on the other side of Mount Taurus, and, according to that line of demarcation, abandoned to Antiochus. The Rhodians said, that the inhabitants of Soli were of the same blood with themselves, since both were colonies from Argos. They entreated, therefore, that it might be exempted from the king's imposts and garrisons. The Romans conferred on the subject of this petition with the ambassadors, Antipater and Zeuxis, but found them totally averse to the resignation of Soli. Their reluctance was communicated to the Rhodians, who at the same time were told, that every effort would be made to remove it, should the emancipation of Soli be deemed essential to the interest and dignity of Rhodes. The Rhodians warmly thanked the senate for this last proof of its goodness: but observed, that they would rather submit to the obstinacy of the king's ambassadors, than be the means of disturbing the peace.[78]

March of the consul Manlius to Galatia. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B.C. 189.

Meanwhile the consul Manlius had received from the Scipios the command of the legions in Asia. Having assembled them at Ephesus, he extolled with due praise their victory over Antiochus, but told them, "that their work was still incomplete, while the Gauls, zealous abettors of

[77] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 5.

[78] Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 56.

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that prince, domineered over both sides the Halys; the Trocmi on the East; the Tolistoboii, and the Tectosages, on the west of that river. This insolent nation, whose merciless ravages had so long deformed the peninsula, trusting to their distance of nearly three hundred miles from the Grecian sea, presumed to set the invasion of the Romans at defiance. Nothing therefore would be gained by the removal of Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus, unless the arrogance of the Gauls were humbled, since a fiercer domination would succeed to that of the Syrians, and still more cruelly tyrannise over the Roman allies." The soldiers, who hoped for an easy victory, and a rich booty, showed much eagerness to march against the enemy. King Eumenes had directed their motions on the coast; his brother Attalus, in the absence of that prince at Rome, was to conduct them through the inland country. Attalus joined the consul near the Meander, with a thousand infantry and two hundred horse: they crossed that river in boats fifty miles above its mouth, and landed on the southern bank at Hieracomé, a place famous for the oracle of Apollo, and governed in its internal concerns by priests, whose prerogatives had been long respected by every power bearing sway in Lesser Asia. The army proceeded in two marches to the river Harpasus, where it was joined by Athenæus, also brother to Eumenes, commanding a larger reinforcement than that recently brought by Attalus. To the consul, preparing for his

departure, an embassy came from Alabanda, a Carian city dependent on the Rhodians, craving his assistance in the reduction of a neighbouring strong-hold that had revolted. He detached a few cohorts to perform this service, and continued his progress eastward to Antioch on the Meander, to which place, stipulated supplies of corn were brought to him by Seleucus the son of Antiochus. Difficulties occurred about victualling the troops under Attalus, and Athenæus; but these were removed by the declaration of Manlius, that he would not receive the corn brought for himself, unless the Roman allies were also plentifully provided with that article. In advancing from the banks of the Meander to those of the Chaus, the Romans were unexpectedly encountered by some cavalry belonging to Tabes, a city proud in its connection and consanguinity with the warlike Pisidians. The assailants were made to feel the inferiority of their weapons and discipline, and compelled to purchase pardon by the payment of twenty-five talents, and ten thousand bushels of wheat. From the Chaus the consul proceeded to the Indus, a small torrent on the southern frontier of Phrygia, which received that magnificent name from the disaster of an Indian, who had been drowned in passing it on his elephant.[79]

Contributions raised on Mo-

The Romans were now in the neighbourhood of Cibyra, which, with some strong-holds on the

79 Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 12—14

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agetes, tyrant of Cibyra.

circumjacent mountains, obeyed Moagetes a tyrant, not only in the Greek sense, as having usurped power in a free city, but as exercising that power unjustly and cruelly. Not to leave behind the domain of such a man unransomed, the consul sent against Cibyra his lieutenant Helvius with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. This detachment was met by ambassadors from Moagetes, bearing a present of fifteen talents of silver, and craving safety and friendship. Helvius referred them to the consul, who answered their request by saying, that he had heard of their master, and such was his infamy, that there was little room for friendship and great cause for punishment. The ambassadors only begged the consul to receive the money, and to allow Moagetes to appear personally before him, that he might make his own defence. Accordingly, next day, the tyrant came to the Roman camp, equipped and attended below the condition of a private citizen. His speech was conformable to his appearance; low, plaintive, and faultering: bewailed the poverty of his people, and gave rather a hope, than any positive assurance, that, by beggaring them and himself, he would endeavour to collect the sum of twenty-five talents. The consul told him, that such vile hypocrisy was not to be endured, "It was not enough, that yesterday you trifled with us by ambassadors. You must now repeat the mockery yourself. Twenty-five talents, you say, would beggar you and your country: but unless in the space of three days, you pay five hundred

talents, your territory will be ravaged, and your capital in ruins." Moagetes persevered in affirming his inability to comply; and amidst tears, prayers, and cavils, prevailed on the consul to be contented with one hundred talents, and a thousand bushels of corn.[80]

Manlius proceeds to the Tolistoboii.

In their march eastward, the Romans entered the confines of the Pisidian mountaineers, who defied foreign enemies, and made implacable wars with each other. The people of Isionda, after their town had been taken, were blocked up in their citadel by their neighbours of Termessus. The consul obliged the besiegers to retire, and exacted from them fifty talents. Similar contributions were raised on other cities on his way, which had not soothed him by voluntary presents or submissive embassies. Having in this manner traversed part of Pisidia and Pamphylia, he directed his course northward to the sources of the Meander, and the ancient city of Celænæ, then called Apamea from the wife of Seleucus Nicator. To this place, the namesake of that illustrious prince, and the fifth from him in descent, came by order of his father to meet the Roman conquerors, and to supply them with guides and other conveniences for the remainder of their march, to the confines of the Tolistoboii, the nearest division of their Gallic enemies.

Preparations of the Gauls.

The members of this clan were not of one mind. Since their bloody defeat by Attalus,

[80] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 15.

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the father of Eumenes, many Gauls had betaken themselves to a settled life; and, in imitation of the nations around them, were occupied in agriculture and the arts. To people thus employed, it seemed better to make the submissions required of them, than to try the chance of war. They brought presents to the invaders, and acquainted them with the motions and views of their ill-advised brethren. The Tolistoboii, they said, had retired northward, and taken post among the fastnesses of Olympus, which formed their boundary with Bithynia. The Tectosages had occupied Magaba, a continuation, eastward, of the same mountain. The Trocmi having deposited their property and families with the Tectosages, had joined with all their warriors the forces of the Tolistoboii; hopeful that the Romans would either not follow them to their mountainous retreats, or would not long remain in those cold and rude regions. They had, however, transported with them provisions to hold out against an obstinate siege: of missile weapons they had not collected any supply, because the rocky country furnished them with exhaustless magazines to be employed againsst an approaching enemy.[81]

Battle of Olympus.

Manlius, as the principles of war on such ground required, marched against them in divisions. His light troops were numerous, and provided amply with javelins, arrows, and leaden bullets. The Gauls, with their usual presump-

[81] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16. et seq.

tion, sallied from their camp. They began to ply their natural artillery of stones and rocks, in which, however, they found but little resource, while their own half-naked bodies were dreadfully galled by the well-directed weapons of the enemy. The balls launched from slings, sunk deep into their flesh, and the barbed arrows and javelins could not be extracted. They were driven back in dismay to their camp, before the entrances to which they made a crowded stand, and were thereby exposed to a ruinous discharge of Roman pila. This was the last act of the battle, which was entirely decided by missile weapons. The Gauls fled on all sides: about forty thousand of them were slain or taken; their camp, with their women and effects, fell a prey to the victors.[28]

Battle of Magaba. — Total defeat of the Gauls.

After this success at Olympus, the consul descended to Ancyra and refreshed his soldiers in that industrious and peaceful city, with the design of speedily leading them against a second army of the enemy, posted at Magaba. The Tectosages, occupying this mountain, had received succours from the Cappadocians beyond the Halys, and had determined to make a vigorous resistance. They sent ambassadors, however, to the consul, and by vain professions of submission, decoyed him to a pretended conference with their chiefs, midway between the Gallic camp and Ancyra.[83] While Manlius,

[84] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 21.

[83] The camp and city were ten miles asunder.

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with a small escort, approached the place appointed, he was surprised by a body of Gallic cavalry, advancing with their horses in a foam; and would have been totally cut off, had not fortune defended the law of nations against this detestable perfidy. Some Romans, having gone in the morning in quest of wood and forage, happened to be at hand: they seasonably rescued their general, and repelled the enemy. Next day, the consul breathing resentment, marched in full force against the camp of Magaba. Here a second battle was fought, scarcely distinguishable in any circumstance from the former. The Gauls lost nearly the whole of their warriors, and the rich spoils accumulated by a people represented as the cruellest and greediest of all antiquity. The remnant of the nation sent tokens of submission; Manlius ordered their ambassadors to meet him at Ephesus.[64]

Exploit of Chiomara, wife to a Gallic chief.

The dark picture of the rapacious and unprincipled Gauls is brightened only by a single trait; the stern virtue of the beautiful Chiomara, wife to Ortiagon, chief of the Tolistoboii. She had been taken in the battle of Olympus, carried to Ancyra, and ravished by the centurion to whom her person was entrusted. Desirous also to gratify his lust of gold, he promised to release her from captivity, in case she could procure a talent for her ransom. The time and place were agreed on, as well as the number of those, two only, who should bring

[64] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 25. et seq.

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the money. All was performed according to concert, by means of a faithful slave whom Chiomara had recognised among the centurion's prisoners, and by whom two men, fit for her purpose, were sent to her with gold to the value of a silver[85] talent. At a given signal, while the centurion weighed the money, the ransomers stabbed him to the heart. His severed head was wrapped in her robe by Chiomara, carried to her husband Ortiagon in the place of his retreat, and thrown on the ground before him, in proof of the price exacted for her violated chastity.[86]

Operations of the fleet under Labeo.

While Manlius conquered the Gauls, Fabius Labeo, who commanded the Roman fleet, accomplished the various objects committed to him by the senate; the expulsion of Antiochus's garrisons from the sea-coast, the destruction of his ships of war, and the recovery of Romans sold into slavery. These additions to his own more splendid success enabled the consul, on his return to Ephesus, to settle the affairs of the peninsula, to the complete satisfaction of the allies in that quarter.

Pacification of Asia. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

To answer finally the numerous embassies, which solicited his attention, he only waited for the return of Eumenes from Rome, whose absence from the Gallic war, had been ably supplied by his brother Attalus. In concert with these princes, Manlius announced the same terms of peace to the Syrians which had formerly been tendered to

[85] 193*l.* 15*s.* [86] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 26. et seq.

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them: the Gauls were commanded to desist in future from their turbulent and predatory life: Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who had assisted both them and Antiochus, purchased pardon at the price of two hundred talents. This was an inconsiderable atonement for such high provocations. But the Romans wished not yet to carry their arms beyond the Halys; and Ariarathes, having about this time betrothed his daughter to Eumenes, obtained, through the interest of that prince, a remission of half the amercement.[87]

The Romans plundered in their return home by the Thracians.

The pacification of the East being thus effected, and the friends of Rome thereby secured in the important advantages decreed to them, the army crossed the Hellespont; and passed through Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, to Apollonia in Illyrium, the ordinary place of embarkation for Italy. In penetrating through the defiles of Thrace, near the river Hebrus, part of the Syrian and Gallic spoils was surprised and seized by the Thracians. These robbers ventured even to combat with the legions; they were repelled with much bloodshed, though without losing their booty; a circumstance, of which the enemies of Manlius afterwards made use, and invidiously amplified in the vain hope of obstructing his triumph.[88]

Transactions in Greece.—Amynan-

The same summer that had proved disastrous to the Gauls, was marked by the complete humiliation of the Etolians; both nations zealous

[87] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 39. [88] Id. ibid. c. 46.

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der recovers Athamania.

allies to Antiochus, and both highly obnoxious to Rome and to all well-regulated governments. Amidst the first transient successes of their Syrian ally, the Etolians flew to arms, surprised and expelled the Macedonian garrisons in their neighbourhood, and manfully defended their usurpations against king Philip and his son Perseus.[89] To Amynander, who had cooperated with them in this enterprise, they restored Athamania, whose inhabitants, having smarted under the Macedonian yoke, longed for the dominion of their hereditary chieftain[90]; and in return for this favour on the part of the Etolians, Amynander enabled them to become masters of Ambracia, a city of great strength and splendour, once the capital of Pyrrhus, but now, in the fallen and divided state of the Epirots, forming a small independent republic. Meanwhile Antiochus was defeated at Magnesia. Alarmed by the news of this event, the Etolians and Amynander sent ambassadors to the senate, to justify, at least, extenuate their late proceedings. The Etolian embassy was headed by Alexander the Isian, with whose character my readers are acquainted. In their way to Rome, the ambassadors, four in number, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Epirots. Lest they should be reclaimed by the Romans, to whom they had been sent in a public and sacred character, the Epirots were eager to release them for a high

[89] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 49.   [90] Id. ibid. c. 1.

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ransom. They asked five talents for each: this price was reduced to three talents, which the colleagues of Alexander agreed respectively to pay, and, finding securities among their friends in Epirus, were accordingly set at liberty. But the Isian complained of three talents as an exorbitant demand. He was an old infirm man, possessed of more than two hundred talents; but such was the tyranny of his avarice, that it would not allow him to part with the smallest trifle for the freedom and safety of his person. He determined rather to die in prison, than to become bound for the sum required of him; and as the Romans sent orders for his liberation, the miser exulted in the patient firmness by which he had saved his money.[91]

Siege of Ambracia.

When the Etolians learned the detention of their first embassy, they thought of dispatching a second. But it was no longer time; for the consul Fulvius Nobilior had sailed with a great armament to Apollonia, and was on his march through Epirus, at the head of twelve thousand infantry, and six hundred horse; one-third of which consisted, according to custom, of Roman citizens, and two-thirds of Italian allies. In concert with the Epirots he determined to lay siege to Ambracia, while the less important acquisitions, recently made by the Etolians, should be invaded and wrested from them by the king of Macedon. Ambracia was situate three miles north of the gulph to which it gives name, de-

[91] Polybius, l. xxii. c. 9.

fended on the east by a mountain, with a lofty citadel; on the west by the river Arachtus, and by walls three miles in circuit. With a view both to exclude succours, and to make a safe as well as efficacious attack, the Romans, accustomed to carry on war with the spade and pick-axe not less than with the sword, drew lines of circumvallation around the place, and then proceeded to batter the walls in five different points. The besieged defended themselves with equal skill and spirit. The shocks of the battering rams were diverted by iron grapples; huge cranes let fall enormous masses of lead to crush the Roman works; wherever the wall gave way, a new and stronger wall rose behind it; and the assaults of the besiegers were repelled and retaliated by bold sallies in the day, and more especially in the night. When the Romans had recourse to mining, the Etolians dexterously countermined them. They first cut a deep trench in the ground, and having ascertained, by applying to its sides thin brazen plates, some of which resounded in unison with the clink of the Roman tools, the direction which their own workmen ought to pursue, they commenced their labours confidently, and soon opened on the caverns made by the enemy. A battle ensued under ground, first with the mining instruments, and afterwards with swords and spears; but when this was rendered indecisive through want of room, neither party being able to penetrate beyond the shields of the other, the Etolians bethought them of a new expedient for dislodging the

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assailants. They provided a huge vessel covered with iron, and bristling with iron spikes. They filled it with small feathers; its end towards the Roman mine projected an iron tube; a smith's bellows was applied to the other; and the feathers being set on fire, the Romans were thus annoyed by so offensive a smoke, that it was impossible for them to persevere in their subterranean labours.[92] During this state of the siege, the Macedonians invaded and recovered Dolopia: and the coast of Etolia was ravaged by the Roman fleet, assisted by the Achæans, and by the Illyrian Pleuratus, a zealous ally of the Romans.

Humiliation of the Etolians—Surrender of Ambracia. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B.C. 189.

Such a combination of enemies distracted the councils of the Etolians. They considered that the war had been undertaken through reliance on Antiochus; but now, that this prince had been defeated in a decisive battle, and banished to the extremities of the world beyond mount Taurus, all hope of resistance had vanished. Under this impression of despondency, they sent ambassadors to Fulvius, to implore his mercy on a people once in alliance with Rome: "that they had been sparingly rewarded as friends, and ought not therefore as enemies to be punished excessively." The consul ordered them to pay a thousand talents, to surrender their horses and arms, and to bind themselves, in war and peace, to yield implicit obedience to the senate. Before the negociation was concluded, the Rhodians and Athenians interposed their friendly mediation.

[92] Polybius, l. xxii. c. iv. 11, 12.

Amynander too, king of Athamania, requested a safe conduct to the Roman camp, and soothed the consul with promises of putting him, by peaceful means, in possession of Ambracia. This petty prince had performed essential service to the Romans in their Macedonian wars; by imprudently siding with Antiochus against them he had lost his kingdom; he had recently recovered it by his own activity and address; he feared, if a relentless war should be prosecuted against the Etolians, to be involved in their fate; he feared also for the safety of Ambracia, a city where he had long resided, and over which he had an extraordinary degree of influence. Through the interference of Amynander, Ambracia surrendered on condition that the Etolians in the place should be allowed to depart in safety. The consul respected the liberties of the Ambracians and their property, public as well as private: the pictures and statues only, with which the palace of Pyrrhus had been adorned, were sent on board the fleet, to be transported to Rome. Shortly afterwards Fulvius moved his camp to Amphilocian Argos, twenty-two miles distant from Ambracia, at the inmost recess of the gulph; and prepared to march, if necessary, into the heart of Etolia. But a new embassy from that country, seconded by the Rhodians and Athenians, obtained conditions of peace more tolerable than those originally tendered; since the Etolians were allowed to retain their horses and arms; and instead of one thousand, required only to pay five hundred talents. They

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The Romans possess themselves of Cephallenia. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

were compelled, however, to relinquish all their conquests, and to give hostages as a pledge of their entire submission in future to the power and majesty of Rome.[93] The consul then sailed to Cephallenia, long a dependance of Etolia, and in a siege of four months, reduced the ill-advised but obstinate resistance of Samé, a sea-port in that island. The city was plundered, its inhabitants were sold for slaves; and Cephallenia, thus completely subdued, became a very valuable acquisiton, since by its proximity to the coast of Greece, it served as a convenient place of arms and observation for watching and seasonably controuling the course of public transactions in that country.[94]

[93] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 8. et seq. [94] Id. l. xxxviii. c. 28, 29.

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Death of Antiochus the Great in Upper Asia. — Deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes. — The Decree for that Purpose. — Information contained in it illustrated by History. — Flourishing State of the Achæan League. — Changed Maxims of Rome. — War between the Rhodians and Lycians. — Philip greatly extends his Power. — Roman Commissioners at Tempé. — Messenian War and Death of Philopœmen. — Rivalship between Philip's Sons. — Murder of Demetrius. — Perseus defies his deceived Father. — Death of Philip. — Disasters of his Allies the Bastarnæ.

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Antiochus the Great slain in Upper Asia — Accession of Seleucus Philopator. Olymp. cxlviii. 2. B. C. 187.

THE battle of Magnesia inflicted an incurable wound on the kingdom of the Greeks. Many eastern provinces had long been in rebellion; and, through the event of that battle, the western subjects of Syria were either entirely emancipated, or parcelled out between Eumenes II. of Pergamus and the maritime republic of Rhodes. Thus divested of just claim to his title of Great, Antiochus lost his life two years afterwards, using very unwarrantable means for raising the pecuniary contributions imposed on him by Rome. With this view, he bethought himself of rifling some of the richest of those temples which protected the money and merchandise belonging to individuals or commu-

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nities. In the elevated region of Elymais, the southern appendage to mount Zagros, there was a staple or depository of this kind, at the meeting of the caravan roads connecting Media with Persis and Susiana.[1] This temple, which had been adorned[2] by the great Alexander, Antiochus determined to plunder. His assault was made in the night: the guards of the sacred inclosure defended their idols and treasures; they were assisted by hardy mountaineers, ever ready and armed, in its neighbourhood; a blind tumultuary combat ensued, in which the king fell[3], fighting at once against the religion, the commerce, and the arts of his country. Before this event, which happened in the fifty-third year of his age and thirty-seventh of his reign, he had long forfeited the praise of his temperate youth, by engaging in a mad career of unbridled pleasure. His behaviour at different periods of life stamps him with two opposite characters: in the beginning, strenuous and dignified; towards the end, weak and disgraceful. His two sons reigned in succession. The elder, Seleucus Philopator, at this time viceroy in Antioch, immediately ascended the throne: the

[1] Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1080. & Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8. The robbing of these inland staples was as familiar to ancient times, as the plundering, by belligerent powers, of maritime staples, in the modern. We shall see the impious example of Antiochus the Great imitated, with like fatal effect, by two of his successors, Antiochus Epiphanes, and Antiochus the Hunter.

[2] Josephus, ibid.

[3] Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 575. Conf. Justin xxxii. 2.

younger, Antiochus Epiphanes (I anticipate these surnames of distinction,) was now an hostage in Italy, and remained twelve years longer in that country.[4] CHAP. XXI.

Ptolemy Epiphanes Olymp. cxlviii. 2. cxlix. 4. B.C. 187 —181.

At the demise of his father-in-law, king of Syria, Ptolemy Epiphanes had reigned eighteen years in Egypt, though only in the twenty-third year of his age. He had espoused Antiochus's daughter, Cleopatra, before the disastrous war of that prince with the Romans; but Ptolemy Philometor, the first-fruits of the marriage, was born nearly six years afterwards, about the era of Antiochus's death.[5] According to a long previous treaty between Antiochus and those who, in the nonage of Ptolemy, administered the government of Egypt, Cleopatra was to bring for her dower the restored allegiance of Cœle-Syria, Palæstine, and Phœnicia. This treaty, however, was not exactly fulfilled. Its conditions as well as effects are very differently reported. Antiochus Epiphanes denied even its existence: and according to the Greek historian[6] of the times, the provinces in question remained uninterruptedly subject to Syria, from the battle of Panius, in the seventh year of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, to an era posterior to the demise of that prince.[7] Yet Josephus relates, that upon the birth of Ptolemy Philometor, of which we have just spoken, many principal

[4] Appian. de Rebus Syriacis.

[5] Seleucus Philopater had just mounted the throne. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. p. 530.

[6] Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 17.

[7] Polybius, l. xxviii c. 1.

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men in Palæstine and the neighbouring districts hastened to Alexandria with their congratulations and presents.[8] Among these visitants, young Hyrcanus, the Jew, particularly distinguished himself, and gained as high favour with Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra, as his father Joseph had procured, thirty-four years before this time, with Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenicé.[9] His alertness and pleasantry, indeed, were well calculated to succeed at the court of a young king, whose time should seem to have been spent between equestrian exercises and hunting on one hand[10], and the merrimaking of feasts and buffoonery on the other.[11]

Decree of the Egyptian priests for his deification — information contained in it.

Such are the inconsistent[12] notices which obscure the foreign transactions of this reign, while strong rays of light are thrown on Ptolemy's internal administration, by a monument distinguished among the trophies recently gained

[8] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. p. 527. et seq.

[9] See above, vol. ii. p. 505.

[10] Polybius, l. xxiii. c. 1. He was famous as a bull-fighter, and could kill a bull with a spear thrown from a strap.

[11] Joseph. ibid. p. 529. At table, one of the king's jesters filled Hyrcanus's plate with bones from the plates of those sitting near him. The king exclaimed at his voracity contrasted with the abstinence of his assessors. Hyrcanus replied, "I am a man; dogs eat bones." Bull-fighting and king's jesters! How like to scenes with which I was familiar 40 years ago, in countries not better governed than the Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt.

[12] The Jewish authorities, contradictory to the Greek, are not very reconcilable with each other; since Palæstine and the neighbouring provinces are represented as subject to Seleucus Philopator towards the end of his reign, without the mention of any war or treaty that brought about their recovery. Conf. 2 Maccab. c. 3. & Joseph. in Lib. de Maccab. c. 4.

over France by British valour in Egypt. This is the priestly decree for the deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in the ninth year of his reign; and when verging [13] on the age of fourteen, his anacleteria [14], or assumption of the government in his own person, was solemnly celebrated at Memphis. In a place, long the chief seat of the Egyptian hierarchy, the sacred persons of different denominations [15] assembled from surrounding nomes or districts, decree [16] a statue to be erected to the young king in each of the principal temples; and, near the king's statue, that of the peculiar god of the temple, presenting him as defender of Egypt, with symbols of victory. [17] The idol of Ptolemy was to be duly worshipped: his shrine of gold adorned with crowns, and protected by amulets, was to be carried with the shrines of other gods in

[13] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 36.

[14] Literally the festival of his proclamation.

[15] Priests, prophets, scribes, &c. See above, vol. i. p. 68. et seq.

[16] The Greek decree runs through 54 lines; but part of the last lines has perished with the bottom corner of the stone, on the left. The copy before me, perfectly correct as to form and size, was printed at the expence of the Society of Antiquaries, 1802. The inscription is greatly swelled by repetitions of the names and titles of the young king, its object; and those of his ancestors, male and female, and the priests and priestesses respectively ministering to them. The epithets of young Ptolemy are endless; "illustrious, munificent, ever living, the living image of Jupiter, beloved of Phtha," &c. See above, vol. i. p. 175. The title αθλοφορς, "prize bearer," belonging to the priestess of Berenicé, wife to Ptolemy Euergetes, relates to a passage of history recorded above, vol. ii. p. 285., and the eagle of Alexander bears a reference to the penetrating views as well as lofty flight of that enlightened conqueror.

[17] 'Οπλον νικητικον. Inscription, line 39.

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sacred procession: his name was to be celebrated by games and festivals; and the decree establishing these ceremonies, to be inscribed on solid stone in sacred[18], in Egyptian[19], and in Greek characters, to make known the benefits received, in return for which the Egyptians honour and magnify the gracious king, god Epiphanes.[20]

The benefits alluded to, bear reference either to particular classes of men, or to the whole inhabitants of the kingdom. Among those of the first kind are specified many acts of indulgence; enlargement to prisoners, release to debtors, acquittal to persons under accusation.[21] To the priestly order[22], in particular, the king had greatly signalised his bounty. According to his ordinances, the priesthood received its yearly revenues in money and corn, and its due proportion of produce from gardens and vineyards[23], at the same time that it was liberated from many

[18] See above, vol. i. p. 48. Note.

[19] Εγχωριοις, characters of the country; that is, Egypt. There are accordingly on the stone three inscriptions; the Sacred, Egyptian, and Greek.

[20] Line 40—53.

[21] Line 13—14.

[22] In line 17, "Those belonging to the *sacred families* (See above, vol. i. p. 72, &c.) are freed from the annual voyage to Alexandria; the king also commanded την συλληψιν εις την ναυτειαν μη ποιεισθαι. This I considered as a prohibition "that any one should be pressed for the navy among races of men peculiarly averse, as we have seen, to a seafaring life. In favour of this conjecture, my friend Mr. Weston cited to me, Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 513. & Isocrates συλλαβων αυτυς αποκτεινε. Mr. Heyne, however, in the Gottingen Mem. vol. xv. translates the words "corrogatio in rem navalem." I think prehensio the more natural sense."

[23] Line 15.

imposts on its own lands payable to the royal treasury [24], and allowed an abatement of no less than two-thirds in the quantity of fine linen with which it was bound to furnish the palace. [25] The king, also, had surpassed his predecessors in munificence to Apis and Mnevis, and the other sacred animals [26]: the temple of Apis, in particular, he had adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. [27] He had re-established sanctuaries, shrines, and altars; and restored to pristine splendour all their costly appurtenances. [28] From his subjects at large, Ptolemy was entitled to the honours of divinity, by his glorious defence of the kingdom against domestic insurrection and foreign invasion [29]; his exact distribution of justice [30], the alleviation of public burdens [31], the suppression of idleness and disorder [32], and the general fitness of his measures for maintaining the fertility and salubrity of Egypt, and upholding national prosperity. [33]

Confirmed and illustrated by history.

The nature and object of this decree make it liable to the suspicion of containing much adulation built on a slight groundwork of truth. Yet these priestly eulogies receive, if not con-

[24] Line 15. [25] Line 18. [26] Line 31.
[27] Line 34. [28] Line 35. [29] Line 21—28.
[30] Line 19. [31] Line 12. [32] Line 19—20.

[33] Lines 11, 12, 13, εις ευδιαν αγαγειν και τα ἱερα καταςησασθαι. "Piety and propitious seasons were inseparable." This and all other partiuclars in the decree perfectly accord with what is above said concerning the political religion of Egypt; its gods, priests, and ceremonies, &c. See vol. i. p. 105. et seqq. p. 149. et seqq. Vol. ii. p. 142. et seqq. To me, this decree, therefore, was inestimable, as substantiating by a new document, the conclusions derived from other sources of information.

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firmation, at least countenance from history, which describes the wretchedness of Egypt during the profligate reign of Ptolemy Philopator, and the abominable regency which he left behind him. For removing such disorders, much was to be done, and much, we are told, was effected by Aristomenes [34] the Acarnanian and Polycrates the Argive, who, before the deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes, ably managed the affairs of this prince, the former in Egypt, the latter in Cyprus. [35] Having recently suppressed the conspiracy of Scopas and his Greek mercenaries, of which we have before spoken, and an insurrection of native Egyptians, of which we shall speak presently, Aristomenes and Polycrates determined to crown the young king formally at Memphis, before he had yet attained the legitimate age of fourteen. Their motive for thus hastening his assumption of the government, was to strengthen [36] him against future rebels; and this politic view was well seconded by the priests when, amidst the ceremonies of his coronation, they enrolled him among the gods. In the decree for this purpose, Ptolemy (for to him the acts of his ministers and generals are ascribed,) is said, in the preceding year [37], to have besieged Lyconpolis [38], a strongly fortified city, in which a band

[34] Diodorus Excerp. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 573.

[35] Polybius, l. xviii. c. 38.

[36] Polyb. ibid. [37] Line 24.

[38] Lyconpolis, or Lycopolis, the city of wolves, or of the wolf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 802—812. There were two cities of this name,

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of wicked heretics then held out against him. The besiegers, it seems, were interrupted in their approaches by sudden inundations, in consequence of an unusual rise of the Nile, till Ptolemy caused the mouths of certain channels to be blocked up, and stationed horse and foot to guard them.[39] His soldiers thus acquiring firm ground for their batteries, speedily gained Lycopolis, and destroyed its rebellious defenders.[40] Without relating the incidents or assigning the date of this siege, Polybius alludes to it, while speaking of another siege of the same place twelve years afterwards, when it was occupied and defended by the same description of enemies. The proper names[41] of those enemies indicate that they were native Egyptians; the general appellation[42] bestowed on them attests that they were persons of much power; and from their repeated rebellions, it may be inferred that they were inveterately hostile to the government and religion then prevalent in their country.[43]

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one in the Thebaid, another in the Sebennytic nome. Stephanus Byzant. de Urbibus. The latter is the place meant, since it was near to Sais and Busiris. The inscription, line 22, places it in the nome of Busiris. For the nomes were differently enumerated and divided, as we have seen above, vol. i. p. 168.

[39] Line 25. [40] Line 26. Conf. Polyb. l. xxiii. c. 16.

[41] Pausiras, Chesouph, &c. Polyb. ibid.

[42] Δυναςαι. Id. ibid.

[43] The wolf-worshippers of Lycopolis should seem at this time to have been a heretical and persecuted sect. Conf. Diodor. l. i. s. 88. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812, 813. Juvenal mentions a similar superstitious inveteracy: —

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The second siege of Lyconpolis preceded by four years the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes: before which time, both the character of the king and the maxims of his domestic administration had undergone an unfortunate change; for, as to foreign affairs, he continued, through life, the submissive pupil of Rome; while, in the treatment of his Egyptian subjects, he became equally cruel and rapacious. The faithful Aristomenes, supplanted by court intrigue[44], gradually declined in credit; his honest remonstrances were no longer tolerable; and shortly before the latter siege of Lyconpolis, he fell the victim to a sally of the tyrant's fiery resentment.[45] Polycrates indeed remained; but Polycrates, whose behaviour had long reflected honour on his native Argos, afforded the memorable example of a man just, temperate, and strenuous in youth, whose hoary age was deformed by odious and abominable vices.[46] In the second warfare of Lyconpolis, Polycrates, through a mean jealousy, contrived to prevent his master, then in

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Inter finitimos, vetus atque antiqua simultas,
Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus.
Ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra; summus utrimque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum,
Odit uterque locus, cum solos credit habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit. Satyr. xv. v. 33. et seqq.

This perfectly accords with what is above said of the contrariety and collision of Egyptian superstitions, vol. i. p. 153., things unattended to by those modern writers who talk of the universal toleration of paganism.

[44] Diodor. ibid. p. 593.

[45] Plutarch. de Discrim. Adulatoris et Amici, p. 71.

[46] Polybius, l. xiii. c. 38.

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his twenty-fifth year, from sharing the glory of any military achievement: and when the rebellion was quelled, and many insurgents had surrendered on terms, and come to the king at Sais to renew their allegiance, Ptolemy, urged by Polycrates, violated his faith, and trampled with ruthless vengeance on his prostrate adversaries, dragging them at his chariot wheels naked, and then subjecting them to death with every refinement of cruelty.[47] Such horrid enormities excited public execration; and a general rebellion of his Egyptian subjects was likely to break out against the "god Epiphanes," when he perished through the treachery of his Grecian friends. Insecure at home, he purposed to carry his arms abroad against Seleucus Philopator; but declaring too freely that to defray the expence of his expedition, he must have recourse to the purses of his courtiers[48], he was taken off by poison; and his queen Cleopatra, sister to Seleucus, assumed the government as guardian to her son Ptolemy Philometor, then in his sixth year.

Seleucus Philopator. Olymp. cl. 1.—cli. 1. B.C. 180—176.

Seleucus Philopator reigned five years in Syria, after his sister became queen-regent in Egypt. He continued punctual in discharging the annual contributions due by him to Rome, and cautiously avoided any offence to that state, by confining his arms and exactions to his own side of Mount Taurus.[49] Being apprised that

[47] Polybius, l. xxxiii, c. 16. [48] Hieronym. in Daniel, xi.
[49] Diodor. Excerp. de Virtut. et Vit. p. 576.

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much wealth was accumulated in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to rifle that depository. Upon the arrival of the treasurer strongly escorted, Onias, the high priest, humbly represented to him, that the money in the temple was a sacred and inviolable deposit, belonging, much of it, to widows and to orphans. In defiance of religion and humanity, Heliodorus persisted in the rapacious project; but, when attended by his guards, he presumed to enter the holy precincts to the treasury, such terrors assailed him, that he fell speechless on the ground, and remained in that forlorn condition, until his spirits were restored by the kind offices of priests, then ministering in the temple. He returned empty-handed to Antioch, and protested to Seleucus, that he would do well to send any one whom he wished signally to punish on the same terrible errant [50], an employment fit only for the worst villain in his kingdom. In the same year, Heliodorus himself gained that infamous distinction. The time, it seems, had arrived, for sending as hostage to Rome, the son of the Syrian king in exchange for his brother. When the son, Demetrius Soter, had departed, and before the brother, Antiochus Epiphanes, had returned, Heliodorus, in the absence of these two persons, the nearest to the throne, poisoned his master Seleucus in hopes of usurping the sovereignty. [51] But the seasonable appearance of Antiochus, with an

His death. Olymp. cli. 2. B.C. 175.

[50] 2 Maccab. c. 3.

[51] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 45.

army, crushed the traitor. Such were the events in the East during the fifth generation of Alexander's successors; and thus, for the space of fifteen years from the decisive battle of Magnesia to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, the affairs of Egypt and Syria were little connected with the great scenes transacting during the same space of time in Greece and Macedon.

Flourishing state of the Achæan league. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

In Greeee, the degradation of Etolia had made room for the ascendency of Achaia. The Achæans now united under one government the seven states of Peloponnesus, while, of the nine states beyond the Isthmus, eight formed republics apart, and Thessaly, the ninth, was divided into as many separate commonwealths as it contained cities. Achaia, also, at this time had a chief, to direct its wars and counsels, of indefatigable activity, and of zeal approaching to enthusiasm for the extension and fair renown of the Achæan league. Philopœmen had passed his sixty-third year; but this eventful climacteric had neither blunted the keenness of his exertions, nor cooled the ardour of his patriotism. His labours were equally unceasing in the council and the camp, for completing the great work which Aratus had begun, and thus combining the whole of Greece into one confederacy, cemented by a unity of institutions, and a perfect equality of freedom.[52] In pursuance of this liberal policy, shortly after the Romans had taken possession of Cephalenia, Philopœmen, as

[52] Plutarch. in Philopœm. & Polybius, l. ii. c. 40.

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pretor of Achaia, summoned the deputies of its several states to Argos instead of Ægium, on the ground that the national assembly ought not to be invariably confined to any one place, but, in justice to those composing the league, to convene in all the allied cities by turns, without any undue preference. This equitable measure was opposed as an innovation by the magistrates called Demiurgi, who availed themselves of the neighbourhood of the consul Fulvius in Cephalenia to request his advice and interposition. From the intimate connection that had long subsisted between the Romans and Achæans, and still more from the ambition of Fulvius to extend the authority or influence of his country, he readily sailed to the Peloponnesus, but found that most members of the league had already obeyed the summons of Philopœmen, and assembled at Argos. He repaired, however, to this city, in order to abet the views of those who had solicited his interference. As the representative of a state in the most intimate alliance with Achaia, he was honourably received by the council, and partook in its deliberations; but soon perceived that Philopœmen's proposal for setting aside the undue prerogative of Ægium, a place situate at the extremity of the country, was so acceptable to most of the Achæan deputies, that it would be prudent to keep to himself the intention with which he had come, of opposing that popular measure.[53] He

[53] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30.

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returned therefore to Cephalenia, not a little piqued at having undertaken a long and fruitless journey.

Perturbed state of Laconia.

But he was soon recalled to Peloponnesus by an affair of greater moment, which produced the last memorable struggles in Greece, and which finally terminated in the fixed and unalterable servitude of that country. We have seen how Philopœmen, after the destruction of the tyrant Nabis, joined Lacedæmon to the Achæan league, without compelling it formally to relinquish the laws of Lycurgus, long an empty name in that turbulent city. The descendants of the kings of Sparta, with all their adherents among the higher orders in the community, had cantoned themselves in villages along the sea-coast, careless of returning to the capital, now occupied by a vile assemblage of low mechanics, unprincipled soldiers of fortune, and even emancipated slaves, calling themselves the republic of Sparta, and as such entitled to send deputies to the Achæan council. The more genuine representatives of that republic, inhabiting the southern shore of Peloponnesus, lived unmolested there, until a party of spurious Spartans, moved by the levity and rapacity natural to so vile a populace, surprised their habitations near Las, and wrested from them that sea-port.

The Romans invited thither from Cephalenia. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

The sufferers complained to Philopœmen. He ordered restitution to be made, and the persons guilty of outrage to be consigned to punishment. Messengers were sent to Lacedæmon, bearing a decree to this effect of the Achæan council.

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The inhabitants of Lacedæmon, instead of giving the satisfaction required of them, immediately put to death about thirty persons within their walls, whom they suspected of secret hostility; and dreading vengeance for this new enormity, sent ambassadors to Fulvius in Cephalenia, beseeching him to come to their aid with a Roman legion. Before Fulvius's arrival, the Achæans were in arms; but the severity of winter hindered them from prosecuting the war with vigour. The consul enjoined a suspension of hostilities; and, as an application had been made for the protection of Rome, exhorted all parties concerned, the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, the exiles, and the Achæans to send ambassadors to the senate.[54]

Lycortas and Diophanes ambassadors at Rome—their opposite characters and contradictory speeches.

The first of these descriptions of men eagerly obeyed his orders; the exiles committed their cause to the Achæans, who sent to Rome Lycortas, a citizen of abilities equal to his patriotism[55], and father to Polybius the historian, whose fragments throw more light on this last period of Greek history, than all other records collectively. Lycortas was accompanied by Diophanes, a man at variance with Philopœmen and his adherents, and of a disposition to crouch abjectly to the Romans, because he envied and hated his fellow-citizens. The speeches of ambassadors, discordant in views and sentiments, were altogether inconsistent: Diophanes ex-

[54] Polybius, l. xxiii. c. 10. Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 31.
[55] Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 9.

pressed himself as if the Achæans committed their concerns unconditionally to the senate: Lycortas asserted the freedom and independence of Achaia, appealed to the faith of treaties, and maintained, that no power on earth had a right to restrain his commonwealth from punishing robbery and murder. The senate replied suitably to such contradictory applications from the same people: its sentence was so perplexed, and couched in such ambiguity of language, that the majority of the Achæans, guided chiefly by Philopœmen, thought themselves safe in prosecuting the war, although those of the opposite party, and still more the Lacedæmonians, gave to the senate's decree a quite contrary meaning.[56]

Sparta taken and obliged to conform to the Achæan laws. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

Accordingly, when the severity of winter had abated, the Achæans marched against Lacedæmon, and threatened to assault the city, unless certain persons, whom they named, were surrendered to them. Upon compliance with this demand, the public defection, they said, should be pardoned; Lacedæmon might obtain peace; and those suspected of delinquency would not suffer punishment without having a fair trial. When the people at large, glad of being exempted from accusation, appeared to acquiesce in this proposal, the persons named made offer to resign themselves to trial, and repaired for this purpose to the Achæan camp at Compasium, accompanied by their friends and advocates. But it unfortunately happened

[56] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 32

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that Philopœmen, in this expedition, had been followed by a crowd[57] of Lacedæmonian exiles, who could not restrain their resentment at the sight of men formerly their tradesmen or servants, who had driven them from their country, usurped their possessions, and robbed them of their wives and children. The Lacedæmonians, to the number of eighty, were either slain in the first tumult, or afterwards resigned to execution[58]; and, as farther negociation was impossible after this breach of faith, Philopœmen assaulted and took Sparta; demolished its walls; expelled the persons most obnoxious to him; and, according to a decree passed shortly afterwards by the Achæan deputies at Tegea, reinstated the exiles in their hereditary rights, only requiring that, in the management of their domestic, as well as foreign concerns, they should conform to the laws and institutions prevalent among the other members of the league. By the same decree of his countrymen at Tegea, Philopœmen marched against a party of emancipated slaves, who had been the bloody instruments of Nabis and preceding usurpers, and having seized them in the fields, ordered them to be sold to the highest bidder. The money arising from the sale was employed by the Achæan council in restoring a portico in Megalopolis, the native city of Philopœmen, which had been wantonly demolished by the Lacedæmonians in the time of their tyrants.[59]

[57] Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 1.
[58] Ibid. l. xxii. c. 23.
[59] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 34.

This measure intimated to the Romans.

By thus purging Sparta from the corrupt humours with which it had been infected for nearly half a century, the Achæans expected to render that commonwealth a quiet and useful member of their league. They dispatched Nicodemus of Elis, at the head of an embassy to Rome, to explain the motive of their proceedings, and to justify, as wholesome, any severity that appeared in them. The senate, however, having previously received an account of the affair from several of those Lacedæmonians recently driven from their country, declared its disapprobation of the harsh measures pursued; particularly in the blood spilt at Compasium, in the demolition of the walls of Sparta, and in the abrogation of the venerable laws of Lycurgus, which, as they were assured by the exiles, had subsisted in that city for seven hundred years. Notwithstanding this expression of dislike to their conduct, the Achæans were not required to revoke any of their decrees; and the Romans showed so little inclination to break with them, that they employed their good offices in attempting to restore to Bœotia several expatriated Thebans, ancient partisans of Rome in the Macedonian war.

In this uncertain state, matters remained for the space of three years, during which interval Rome was disordered by those evils which too naturally follow in the train of peace and prosperity.[60] The Scipios were accused of pe-

[60] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 42—54. & l. xxxix. c. 14—19.

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Change of manners at Rome. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B.C. 189.

culation by those who envied them their supposed acquisitions of fortune. Triumphs were long withheld, on very unfair pretences, from Manlius and Fulvius. The virulent and endless debates on these subjects were accompanied by the discovery of the horrid abuses recently introduced into the rites of Bacchus; abuses spreading widely, and threatening to abolish every law of humanity and decency. Such complicated and infectious mischiefs were however repressed by the virtue and good sense of the public at large. Manlius and Fulvius triumphed; the Bacchanalian seminaries were extirpated; and the evinced innocence of the Scipios made the animosity conceived against them recoil on their accusers. Yet the great Africanus, disgusted with the innovations at Rome, retired to his villa at Liternum, a hundred miles distant, and died there in obscurity [61], having just cause to lament the altered maxims of his country; its degeneracy from the virtues of domestic life, and its departure from the generosity and dignity that had hitherto characterised Roman policy both at home and abroad. The victorious expedition into Asia has been assigned for the era of this fatal change, since the return of the legions from the East first imported a consuming luxury into Rome; expensive furniture, high-seasoned dishes, and other pestilent allurements. Then, it is said, were first displayed the soft refine-

[61] Silentium deinde de Africano. Id. l. xxxviii. c. 42.

ments of effeminacy and vanity; apartments were adorned with the delicate labours of Babylonian looms, with brass-framed triclinia, with claw-footed tables, and richly ornamented buffets; entertainments were enlivened and prolonged by the performances of dancers and musicians, harping women and buffoons; and cooks, till then classed with the lowest of slaves, both in estimation and use, rose to the dignity of artists, whose skill was highly prized and extravagantly rewarded.[62] Prodigality was accompanied by rapacity; and the progress of this history will show, what the partiality of Roman writers did not allow them to perceive, or at least to express, the sudden and extraordinary alteration that took place, from the same era, in the proceedings of the commonwealth with regard to its allies as well as its enemies.[63]

War between the Rhodians and Lycians. Olymp. cxlviii. 1. cl. 3. B.C. 188—178.

For three years after the peace granted to the Etolians, the Romans, agitated at home by the dissensions above-mentioned, were chiefly occupied abroad with their ordinary and obscure wars in Spain and Liguria. They maintained

[62] Livy, l. xxxix. c. 6. Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xiii. c. 3. l. xxxiii. c. 3. & l. xxxiv. c. 3.

[63] Till the defeat of Antiochus and the return of the Roman armies from Asia, the words of Cicero are not inapplicable to the dominion of his country. Itaque illius, scilicet Romæ, patrocinium orbis terrarum verius quam imperium poterat nominari. De Offic. l. ii. c. 8. Less than five years after the battle of Magnesia, Posthumus Albinus, and other Roman magistrates, began to tyrannise over the allies of the republic, and to treat them with the cruellest indignity. Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 1.; from which time it could no longer be pretended that the Romans promoted the happiness of conquered nations.

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scarcely any connection with their confederates in the East; Philip, Eumenes, and Ptolemy, the Achæans and Rhodians. They neglected even to interfere in a matter which deeply concerned their honour, the procuring for the Rhodians possession of those territories on the continent, which had been awarded to them for their zealous and essential co-operation towards the removal of Antiochus beyond mount Taurus. According to the treaty of peace dictated to that prince, the Rhodians were to obtain Caria and Lycia. But the natives of Troas, whom the Romans acknowledged to be their ancestors, interceded in behalf of the Lycians as their ancient and hereditary friends; and the Lycians themselves, a high-minded people, disdained to be bound by the humiliating concessions of the king of Syria. A war ensued; the Rhodians indeed prevailed[64]; but without experiencing assistance, or even good will, on the part of the great western republic, to whose triumphs in Asia they had strenuously and signally contributed.

Philip extends his power; the Achæans — their authority. Olymp. cxlviii. 3. B. C. 186.

On the side of Europe, Philip and the Achæans had obtained the advantages which they had a right to expect from the discomfiture of Antiochus and the Etolians. By consenting to the resignation of all their conquests, Antiochus those in Thrace, and the Etolians those in Greece, several valuable districts and rich cities had suddenly changed masters. In co-

[64] Polybius, l. xxii. c. 7. l. xxiii. c. 3. l. xxvi. c. 7.

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operating with the Romans, Philip had expelled the Etolians from a few places in Thessaly; he divested them of many more, after the Roman armies had returned into Italy. He had also conquered the mountainous district of Athamania, between Thessaly and Epirus; and, being invited by domestic factions into Ænos and Maronæa, Greek cities on the coast of Thrace, had entered them with an armed force, terminated their internal dissensions, bridled them with garrisons, and adorned them with palaces.[65] The Achæans, on their part, had not been less busy in availing themselves of the favourable juncture to extend the influence of their league, both by arms and negociations. The recent compulsion of Sparta to compliance with the Achæan laws, had completed their jurisdiction over Peloponnesus. Common animosity to the Etolians had again reconciled them with Macedon, their ancient and once useful ally. They maintained a most friendly intercourse with all the Greek kings of the east[66]; Eumenes of Pergamus, Prusias of Bythinia, Ptolemy Epiphanes, now reigning in Egypt, and Seleucus Philopator; who had recently succeeded in Syria to his father Antiochus the Great.

Embassies from the Greek kings to the Achæans.

At the same time that Nicodemus of Elis returned from his mission to Rome, and reported to the Achæans, assembled in council at Megalopolis, the displeasure of the senate with their

[65] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 23, 24.

[66] Polyb. l. xxiii. c. 4. l. xxv. c. 7.

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Olymp. cxliiiv. 4. B.C. 185.

late proceedings at Sparta, ambassadors arrived from three eastern princes, and had their respective audiences in the diet. The report of Nicodemus was received without any observation. Lycortas then introduced the Egyptians who had accompanied him from Alexandria. He said that, as ambassador of Achaia, he had renewed the league with Ptolemy, and that the Egyptians had come to perform the same office on the part of their master; and also to present the Achæans with six thousand stand of armour and two hundred talents. The king's gifts were accepted; but upon the proposal of renewing the treaty, Aristænus, now pretor, observed, that many treaties subsisting with the Ptolemies, it was necessary to learn explicitly which of them, and what clauses were to be renewed. Neither Lycortas nor the Alexandrian ambassadors had foreseen this opposition; they wanted presence of mind to make an extemporary reply; and while they retired to confer among themselves, Aristænus had the mischievous dexterity to darken and perplex the question, and thereby to prevent any immediate decision of it. He was assisted in effecting this perfidious purpose by the extreme jealousy which many among the Achæans entertained of kings, and which the partisans of Rome were industrious thenceforward to foment. Upon this principle, the ambassadors of Seleucus and Eumenes, though they renewed their respective alliances, had the mortification to see their presents rejected. Seleucus offered to defray the expence

How defeated by the partisans of Rome.

And by republican jealousy.

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necessary for equipping ten ships of war; and we are not informed of the reasons given to him for refusing that munificent proof of his friendship. But Eumenes, having offered an hundred and twenty talents, the annual interest of which should be consumed in the convivial meetings of the Achæan deputies, Apollonidas of Sicyon spoke as follows: "The sum of money that Eumenes would bestow on you, is not, Achæans! an unworthy present; but the motive of the giver, and the use to which his gift is destined, are repugnant to your laws, and unsuitable to your character. Shall those who are forbidden, even individually, to accept money from kings, render themselves collectively their stipendiaries? Retainers at their tables, shall we swallow the bait intended to catch our patriotism and honesty? Eumenes is the dispenser of largesses to-day; his neighbour and enemy Prusias may dispense still larger to-morrow. Will such donations have no tendency to distract our councils, and to divert us from pursuing the true interests of our country? As the views of kings and democratical republics are essentially and altogether different, it is plain that we must either sacrifice, on many important occasions, the good of the commonwealth to that of Eumenes, or incur the censure of ingratitude for counteracting so liberal a benefactor. It is my opinion, therefore, that we reject his bribes with marked expressions of scorn." [67] The speech of Apol-

[67] Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 7. & 8.

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lonidas was succeeded by that of Cassander, a native of Ægina, who reminded the council how his island, once so respectable, had fallen into the hands of the Etolians in the Macedonian war, and how it had been sold by the Etolians to Attalus, the father of Eumenes. "If the latter prince wishes to deserve cordial affection from the Achæans, he needs only to withdraw his garrison from Ægina, and reunite that island to the free confederacy of which it was a member. The Achæans will consider the independence of Ægina as the most valuable present that can be made to them. They will accept of no other from Eumenes, which would only weaken the hopes which the Æginates yet entertain of safety and liberty." This speech was received with such general acclamation, as left no room for urging any thing further in the king's favour; and his proffered bounty, large and tempting as it seemed, was angrily rejected.[68]

Roman commissioners at Tempé—accusations brought to them against Philip. Olymp. cxlviii. 4. B.C. 185.

The Romans had signified their dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Achæans, and the abolition of the pretended laws of Lycurgus. But when they received accounts of the transactions of Philip in Thrace and Thessaly, they no longer contented themselves with simple expressions of displeasure. Quintius Cæcilius Metellus was sent at the head of a commission into Greece, to hear all complaints against the two powers, which had disturbed the arrangements recently established in that country.

[68] Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 7. & 8.

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Cæcilius crossed the Hadriatic to Apollonia, traversed Epirus, and met Philip, with his accusers, at Tempé in Thessaly. The deputies from that province complained "that Philip had possessed himself of Tricca, Phaloria, and other cities in their neighbourhood: that he had transported into Macedon five hundred Thessalian youths, and employed them in menial offices, disgraceful to their education and quality; that many towns, which he had usurped, were completely drained of their wealth and populousness; that Phthian Thebes, once the busiest sea-port in Thessaly, had been reduced to beggary and desolation, with a view to bring all commerce into Philip's favourite harbour Demetrias; that even the sacred rights of ambassadors had been violated; and that the whole body of Thessalians, trembling in silence under a stern master, ventured at length to utter their grievances, only because they were emboldened by the Romans, in whose presence they spoke."[69] Philip replied by recrimination. "The Thessalians," he said, "had usurped cities and districts belonging of right to himself, since he had gained them in fair war from the Etolians. They had even invaded his hereditary kingdom, and seized Petra in Pieria, and Menelais in Dolopia. That as to the towns which he possessed in Thessaly, they had been occupied with the consent of the Romans themselves, because their ill-advised

His spirited reply.

[69] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 25. et seq.

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inhabitants had sided with the Etolians, not reluctantly, but voluntarily. On the same ground he had taken and garrisoned the strongholds in Athamania. The other charges against him were not worthy of a serious answer. Was it in his power to fix the fluctuating nature of commerce? Or could it be expected that he should come prepared to explain why different harbours were preferred at different times by the interest or caprice of merchants and mariners? He had been accused of violating the rights due to ambassadors, the sacred ministers of peace. He desired to know what had happened to those ambassadors; what injury had ever been done to them; or wherein he had infringed their privileges? All these were frivolous and false allegations of men who had no real wrongs to urge; and who, with the petulance of slaves newly emancipated, proved themselves unworthy of liberty, by injuriously reviling their ancient and indulgent masters." In uttering this sentiment, which reminded him of the dominion of his ancestors over Thessaly and other parts of Greece, the king gave way to his natural warmth of temper, concluding indignantly, "that the sun of all his fortunes had not yet set:" an expression regarded as a threat both by the Thessalians and the Romans. The latter accordingly pronounced sentence, that Philip's garrisons should be immediately withdrawn from all the cities in question; and that, as to other matters in dispute, they would be settled afterwards in

a court of inquiry, duly constituted for that purpose.[70]

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At Thessalonica Philip vindicates his rights against the claims of Eumenes.

From Tempé the Romans proceeded northwards to Thessalonica. There, they were met by ambassadors from king Eumenes. Philip also repaired to the same place. The point to be discussed was, the right of dominion over the Thracian cities Ænos and Maronæa. Eumenes's ambassadors observed, that if the intention of the Romans, after wresting those cities from Antiochus, had been to declare them thenceforth free, the disinterestedness and delicacy of their master, would not allow him to do more than barely acquaint the Romans that the gift of freedom, which they had so liberally bestowed, had been most injuriously intercepted. But if the senate, not caring to retain these conquests, meant to transfer them to their allies, a doubt, they hoped, could not be entertained but the pretensions of Eumenes were preferable to those of Philip. Since the Thracian Chersonesus had already been awarded to the former, Ænos and Maronæa ought, as natural appendages, to be included in the same grant. These representations on the part of Eumenes were reinforced by some deputies of Maronæa, who expatiated on the insolence and cruelty with which Philip had taken possession of their city. From the reception which their speeches met with, the king perceived that he had no longer any justice to expect. He replied, therefore, in a dif-

[70] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 26.

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ferent tone from that hitherto assumed: "I perceive, Romans! that my differences are with yourselves, not with the ambassadors of Eumenes, or the deputies of Maronæa. A few days ago, you stripped me of my fair conquests in Thessaly; you are now going to divest me of those places which I hold no less fairly in Thrace; and Eumenes, at your instigation, sends hither to dismember and rob my dominions, as if I were your enemy Antiochus! I who strenuously assisted you in the war against that prince, although my interests were not, like those of Eumenes, implicated in the contest. Had Antiochus prevailed, his neighbour Eumenes must thereby have been ruined. But my distant kingdom had nothing to fear on the part of Syria. Antiochus courted my friendship, desired even to purchase it at the price of three thousand talents, fifty ships of war, and the recovery of all those cities in Greece, which once acknowledged my authority. But, respect for my subsisting treaty of friendship with you, Romans! made me reject all such offers; and now, you envy me possessions inconsiderable in themselves, but essential, by their situation, to the tranquillity of my kingdom. The ambassadors of Eumenes appeal to your decree, for justifying his claim to Enos and Maronæa. Yet the words of that decree are clear, positive, and expressly against him. "The Chersonesus of Thrace and Lysimachia shall belong to Eumenes." Is there in this clause the smallest mention of Enos and Maronæa? But the main point, decisive of all

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lesser matters, is, in what light I am to be regarded. If you look on me as an enemy, continue to persecute and plunder me: but if I am considered as a king in your alliance, I deprecate, in future, such unworthy proceedings." The commissioners were moved by this speech; but their line of conduct had been prescribed by the senate. They pronounced accordingly, that if Eumenes's claim to Enos and Maronæa were not substantiated by proper documents, Philip should be allowed to hold these places by right of conquest: that the Romans would inquire into this subject; and also into the fair pretensions of the two Greek cities to the exclusive management of their own concerns, independantly of the interference of either king. Meanwhile, Philip's garrisons must be withdrawn from them, that the business, without undue anticipation on either side, might be brought clear and entire before the senate.[71]

Nemean games.—Transactions of the Roman commissioners with the Achæan magistrates. Olymp. cxlviii. 4. B.C. 185.

Cæcilius, and his colleagues Bæbius and Sempronius, having thus terminated their transactions with Philip, proceeded southwards to Peloponnesus, to execute their commission to the Achæan league. The principal magistrates belonging to that confederacy, were employed in celebrating the Nemean games, in the neighbourhood of Argos. Aristænus, pretor of Achaia, and, through envy of Philopœmen, a ready accomplice in the abasement of their common country, assembled at Argos his colleagues

[71] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 27, 28.

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in office, to receive and answer the Roman commissioners. Cæcilius expatiated on the wrongs done to the Spartans, and strongly exhorted the Achæan council to procure their redress as speedily as possible. Aristænus made no reply, indicating consent by his silence. Diophanes, another Achæan, leagued in the same profligate faction, acknowledged the cruel proceedings of his countrymen towards Sparta, and accused Philopœmen as their author. The same man, he added, had maintained a conduct highly reprehensible with regard to the Messenians. Philopœmen, seconded by his friends Lycortas and Archon, victoriously repelled the calumny; and the majority of the Demiurgi, or chief counsellors, warmly espoused their cause. Cæcilius therefore demanded that, as the Achæan magistrates were divided among themselves, they should convene the deputies of the people, from whom the sense of the public at large might be more fairly collected. But the Demiurgi refused compliance in this point, unless he could produce a letter from the senate, desiring such an assembly, and stating precisely the topics which it was required to discuss. Without a written communication from Rome, they told him that the laws of Achaia forbade any extraordinary meetings of their deputies. Cæcilius conceived offence at this declared opposition, and angrily left Argos.[72]

Plausible equity of

Early in the following year, the Roman com-

[72] Polybius, l. xxiii. c. 12.

missioners made report of their proceedings to the senate. They were accompanied or followed to Italy by ambassadors from Philip and the Achæans. The same topics that had been agitated at Tempé, underwent a new discussion; and the Achæans were enjoined to grant an assembly of their deputies in future, upon the simple requisition of a minister from Rome. The senate, in return, promised that its doors should be always open to the ambassadors of Achaia.[73] The condition had a seeming equality, but the real difference was great; for the senate formed a standing council immoveably fixed in one city, whereas the Achæan meetings were summoned occasionally, and circulated through all the principal cities in their league.

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the Romans. Olymp. cxlix. 1. B.C. 184.

Philip's enormities with regard to the Maronites and Cassander.

While Philip had recourse to negociation at Rome, his arms were employed in chastising what he considered as the revolt of the Maronites. Their calumnies against him were retaliated by the blood of their citizens: the agents in this stern vengeance were Onomastus and Cassander; the former his confidant, the latter a courtier and general; its instruments were Thracians, the fiercest and most relentless of his mercenaries. Philip entered Maronæa, still reeking with carnage, and only peaceful because desolated. He had not remained long in that neighbourhood, when Appius Claudius, at the head of a new commission from Rome, arrived to examine whether the commands of the senate had been complied with. He reproached Philip

[73] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 33.

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with the butchery of men whom the Romans had deemed worthy of freedom. Philip disclaimed all share in the transaction. The calamities of the Maronites originated, he said, in themselves: "they had been the victims of internal discord; while one party espoused the interests of Eumenes, and another fought for himself; that Appius might learn the truth by interrogating the survivors among that unhappy people." Such testimony, he thought, might be safely offered, because, under the impression of his late dreadful vengeance, none of the Maronites would venture to speak out, or even to raise a whisper against him. Appius affirmed that, in matters of public notoriety, no room for inquiry was left: if Philip wished to remove the blame from himself, he must abandon Onomastus and Cassander. Philip replied, that as to Cassander, who indeed inhabited Maronæa during the sedition, he was ready to send him to Rome, that he might submit to the interrogatories of the senate. But Onomastus had no concern in the matter: he had been employed at a great distance from Maronæa, at the time when its misfortunes happened. By this distinction Philip saved Onomastus, who had been his accomplice in other unwarrantable transactions. He provided, also, against any information that might be given to his own prejudice by Cassander. Proper persons were sent after him, on his way through Epirus to the sea-coast, by whom the unwary Cassander was poisoned.[74]

[74] Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 15.

Improvements in the resources of Macedon. Olymp. cxlix. 1. B.C. 184.

From the altered policy of Rome with regard to foreign states, Philip perceived that a new war was inevitable with the great western commonwealth. The period of fourteen years' peace from the battle of Kynoscephalæ, had given him an opportunity, as we have seen, of extending his frontiers on the sides of Thrace and Thessaly, and had been far more usefully employed in improving the internal strength of his hereditary kingdom. He encouraged agriculture and commerce; greatly augmented his revenues by port-duties; increased by judicious labour the annual production of the old Macedonian mines, and successfully opened several new ones. Rewards or immunities were proposed for marriage and the rearing of children; and many robust Thracians were conducted into Macedon, to add to the stock of its industry in peace, and still more of its vigour in war. As the Romans rose in the haughtiness of their demands, still bolder measures for resistance were adopted. By well conducted expeditions to the north, Philip extended his renown to the nations beyond the Danube; and entered into treaty with the bravest of the Scythian or Gothic tribes, for invading Italy by the way of the Carnian and Rhetian Alps. But, as he knew by fatal experience the dangers of Roman warfare, he was willing to procrastinate it to the latest period possible; and accordingly dispatched to Rome his younger son Demetrius, whose merit, while a hostage there, had made many personal friends,

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and who had gained the affections of all by his modest yet dignified behaviour.[75]

Appius Claudius at Cleitor. Affecting speech of Lycortas the Achæan pretor. Olymp. cxlix. 1. B. C. 184.

Meanwhile, Appius Claudius, at the head of the Roman commission, proceeded from Macedon to Achaia. The Achæan magistrates had been informed of their arrival, and at the same time had learned, with surprise and indignation, that their suspicions had been envenomed by Areus and Alcibiades, two Lacedæmonian exiles, whom the Achæans had reinstated in their rank, their property, and their country. Lycortas, now pretor, summoned the Achæan diet to Cleitor in Arcadia. When the deputies heard, that the resentment of the Romans had been exasperated against them by the calumnies of men who owed every thing to their bounty; of fugitives to whom they had again restored their homes, and whose wickedness, at the moment when they received so high a favour, had excited the massacre at Compasium, and all the evils consequent on that enormity; the maxims of policy as well as justice gave way to unbridled anger, and the Achæans, with one voice, condemned Areus and Alcibiades to death. A few days after this sentence had passed, Appius arrived at Cleitor, carrying the persons recently condemned, in his train. At his desire a council was assembled next day. He repeated the absurd complaints concerning the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, and the destruction of the walls of Sparta; laws of equal liberty, that had long

[75] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 34.

been abolished, and walls that had been built by a succession of sanguinary usurpers, to rivet the chains of their country. Appius demanded, however, that these grievances should be redressed, and the affairs of Lacedæmon placed on their ancient footing. Lycortas answered him in a speech worthy of the best ages of Greece. He showed, that when Lacedæmon was deformed by the complicated evils of faction and tyranny, the Achæans had joined that unfortunate city to their league ; and that, after its repeated revolts, the Achæans had imposed on it, when conquered, no other laws than those which the conquerors obeyed. Having discussed these points perspicuously and convincingly, the orator, as if ashamed to plead the rights of an independent commonwealth before partial and self-constituted judges, assumed a bolder tone : "I feel, Appius, that this discourse of mine is fitter for slaves in the presence of masters, than for allies before their equal confederates. If the liberties of Greece are not an empty name, why should I render to you an account of the proceedings of Achaia upon the conquest of Sparta, rather than require you to justify, before this tribunal, the cruelties committed by the Romans upon the taking of Capua? We slew, I shall suppose the fact, some Lacedæmonian exiles : Did not you behead the whole body of Capuan senators? The walls of Sparta have been levelled with the ground ; were you contented with merely dismantling Capua? Did you not drive its inhabitants from their houses and their fields?

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The alliance, you say, between the Romans and Achæans, is equal only in appearance; for the Romans have the power of the sword. I know it, Appius, and, since I must, *will* suppress my indignation. But whatever difference fortune has made between us, I entreat you not to prefer our and your enemies, to ancient and faithful allies; nor for the sake of the pretended liberty of Sparta, to undermine that league, which we have sworn to uphold. We respect you, Romans! nay, fear you, if you will so have it; but we fear and venerate still more the immortal gods."[76] This discourse was received with approbation. Appius despaired of success by gentle means; force, he hinted, would be necessary, should persuasion prove ineffectual. He was answered by a groan of despair. The Achæans then implored him not to extort from them a decree, by which they would violate their oaths: they rescinded their condemnation of Areus and Alcibiades; but, as to the changes to be made in the laws and government of Sparta, desired that the Romans only might be their authors.[77]

Philip's son, Demetrius, at Rome. His confusion in the senate. Olymp. cxlix. 2. B. C. 183.

In the year following, there was a greater concourse of foreign ambassadors at Rome, than had ever before assembled in that city; for when it came to be understood that the senate heard with complacence the accusers of Philip, there was not a kingdom, nor a commonwealth, scarcely a city in his neighbourhood, that did not carry to that tribunal many grievous com-

[76] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 35, 36, 37. [77] Id. c. 37.

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plaints against him. Upon one occasion when the young Demetrius had to reply on the part of his father, and seemed perplexed at once with the intricate variety of charges and the multitude of accusers, the magistrate, presiding in the senate, asked him whether he had not received his instructions in writing? He answered in the affirmative, and produced a small book containing the heads of every business that was likely to occur, with the grounds of Philip's proceedings concisely and clearly stated. To relieve from embarrassment a youth for whom the senate felt, or affected much partiality, but still more with a view to penetrate the real designs of Philip, Demetrius was desired to answer the charges, as successively made, from the book in his hand. In pursuance of this method, the inexperienced negotiator read many clauses which he ought in prudence to have suppressed. "In this matter the Romans showed no inclination to do me justice:" and again, "In this interview Cæcilius or Appius behaved insolently." The senate carefully treasured up these marks of a hostile mind in the king, but answered Demetrius, who would have excused them, with tranquilising mildness. "That Philip, whatever may have been his conduct, had highly gratified the Romans in sending Demetrius at the head of his embassy. From affection to this young prince, whose heart had remained a hostage at Rome, after his person had been restored to Macedon, they were willing to dissemble their wrongs; to forget, to forgive,

Partiality shown to him with a view to injure his father.

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and to endure many injuries. That, out of honour to Demetrius, a new commission should be sent into Macedon, to effect amicably what yet might be done, without any vindictive retrospect. They wished, however, Philip to understand, that he owed to Demetrius, solely, this favourable disposition towards him."[78] In this manner the Romans began to flatter the sons of kings, that they might more surely ruin their fathers!

Deinocrates the Messenian — his subserviency to the ambition of Rome.

The policy of Rome, with regard to Achaia, was marked by the same mischievous artifices. To weaken that confederacy, the Spartan rebels were to be reinstated in the benefits of which Philopœmen was said to have deprived them: the incendiaries, whom he had banished, were to return home; and Lacedæmon was again to enjoy the pretended laws of Lycurgus, though in other respects a member of the Achæan league. A decree of the senate passed to this effect; and to ensure compliance with it Quintius Martius, who was sent as ambassador to Philip, had orders to proceed also to Peloponnesus. Next to Lacedæmon, Messené, her ancient rival, gave most trouble to the confederacy, of which all the seven states of Peloponnesus had become members. The mutinous temper of the Messenians was fomented by their general Deinocrates, a man of insinuation and address, alike fitted for courts and camps, but profligate in private life, and totally devoid of patriotism.

[78] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 47. & Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 2.

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In the hope of promoting his views, he had gone to Rome, where the accusers of the Achæans, as well as of Philip, were well assured of a favourable reception. He found that Quintius Flamininus, was commissioned by the senate to proceed to Lesser Asia, for the purpose of settling differences between Eumenes and Prusias. To that illustrious Roman, whom he had formerly known and courted in Greece, Deinocrates applied as to the man most able to serve him, and who was likely to be well disposed with regard to the main point of separating Messenia from the Achæan league, on account of some disgust which he was said to have taken, not so much at the personal pride, as at the haughty patriotism of Philopœmen. Amidst intrigues, in pursuance of his favourite object, Deinocrates continued, even at Rome, his careless and dissolute mode of life: drinking and revelry formed his delight; musicians and buffoons were his companions: in the presence of Flamininus himself, he blushed not to dance, at a festive supper, drest in female attire. The Roman allowed his levity to pass unnoticed for the moment; but told him, next day, that such airy and ludicrous *movements* ill became a man busy in stirring up the most serious *commotions* in Greece.[79] In his way through that country to Pergamus and Bithynia, Flamininus, accompanied by Deinocrates, wrote to the Achæans from Naupactus, desiring that they would speedily

Flamininus takes offence at the Achæans.

[79] Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 5.

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summon a council, and give him a hearing. But the Achæan magistrates, who knew that he had been sent on a commission not relating to their affairs, refused to comply, unless he would state distinctly the demands which he meant to make. Flamininus rejected this condition as inconsistent with the dignity of Rome, and the decrees of the senate; and proceeding on his journey to Lesser Asia, reconciled Eumenes and Prusias with each other, and the latter of those princes with the Romans: the death of Hannibal, as we have before seen, concluded and sealed this disgraceful negociation.[80]

Messenian war. Death of Philopœmen. Olymp. cxlix. 2. B. C. 183.

The historian Livy, who has embellished with consummate art the trophies of his country, declines to enter into the causes and events of the Messenian war, on the pretence, indeed, that they would lead him too wide of his subject. It may be suspected, however, that he did not deem the perfidious policy of Rome a fit subject for a Roman pen; and was unwilling to relate, how the countenance shown by the senate to Deinocrates, and the interest which even Flamininus appeared to take in his concerns, enabled him to prevail in the councils of Messenia, and to separate that important member from the Achæan confederacy. At the time of this separation, Philopœmen lay ill of a fever at Argos, in his eighth pretorship, and the seventieth year of his age. But when he learned that the Messenians were in arms, he roused from his sick-

80 See above, c. xx.

bed, and endeavoured to anticipate them at the sea-port, Coroné, which had refused to join in the rebellion. The small body of cavalry, commanded by himself and Lycortas, was encountered by Deinocrates. The enemy far surpassed in number, and the ground was unfavourable. Philopœmen might have saved his life, had he not been more anxious to secure the retreat of his horsemen through some dangerous defiles in their way. For this purpose, he closed the rear, and made face to the enemy, sustaining their assault, until his horse fell under him. Being stunned by the fall, he was raised up by the Messenians, who treated him with all the respect which they could have shown to their own general. Crowds came to behold him as he entered Messené; and the greater part of the inhabitants of that place expected that, through the possession of so invaluable a pledge, they would be able to conclude an advantageous peace. But Deinocrates and his adherents, who were the ruling party, fearing an insurrection in his favour, caused him to be withdrawn from public view, on pretence of putting to him certain interrogatories, essential to the common interest. He was confined, during the night, in a place that had once served for a treasury; a dark subterranean vault, the entrance to which was shut by a large stone, raised and let down by machinery. Next day a cup of poison was sent to him: he asked the messengers of death whether Lycortas, and his other companions in arms, had made a successful retreat. It was

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Wound thereby given to the Achæan league.

answered, "they are safe:" then, drinking the poison, he said, "all is well."[81] During forty years he had acted the chief part in Achaia, at a period when that state aspired to unite Greece under a federal and representative government, founded on principles highly liberal and equitable; a design which, could it have been fully effected there, might afterwards have been extended to the Greek colonies of Asia and Africa; and thereby have placed the civilization of the ancient world on a firm and stable basis. But this undertaking was unhappily frustrated by an unfortunate conjuncture; its concurrence with the highest energy and most intense ambition of Rome. It must also be acknowledged, that the contest between the two nations might have terminated differently, had the Achæans remained true to themselves. Many of their leading men, as we have seen, recommended on all occasions an implicit submission to the Romans. To Aristænus, who first held this language in the Achæan council, Philopœmen said, "why do you desire to see the last day of Greece?" Philopœmen himself did not see it: he has been called, indeed, the last of the Greeks, but improperly; for Lycortas lived to avenge his death, a man animated with patriotism pure and active as his own.

Lycortas defeats the Messenians.—Ho-

When the disaster that had befallen their admired general, was divulged through the Achæan states, they made preparation with more than

[81] Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 12. & Plutarch. in Philopœmen.

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usual celerity for invading Messenia. Lycortes was chosen pretor; and ambassadors were sent to Rome to explain the just grounds of the war. Without being told the incidents of the expedition, we are only informed that it was completely successful.[82] The Messenians submitted, and gave up the authors and principal abettors of the revolt, except Deinocrates and a few others, who, in despair of mercy, had become their own executioners. Those of the rebels, who were convicted of participation in the murder of Philopœmen, were reserved for punishment until his ashes should be conveyed to Megalopolis, his native city, with every solemn circumstance of funeral pomp. The sepulchral urn, crowned with garlands, was borne by Polybius son to Lycortas, then a youth in his nineteenth year, and long afterwards destined to raise in his writings a perpetual monument to his own fame and the glory of his illustrious countryman. Deputations from all the states of Achaia attended the procession; crowds flocked from all quarters to meet it: the citizens of Megalopolis received it with melancholy exultation. Philopœmen was honoured with statues, inscriptions, and altars; and future historians marked the year of his death as memorable for that of great men; Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio[83]: about the same time Quintius Flamininus, their equal rather in merit than in renown, disappears from history.

nours to the memory of Philopœmen. Olymp. cxlix. 2. B.C. 183.

[82] Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 12. l. xxv. c. 1.

[83] Ibid. c. xxiv. c. 9.

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Rome prepares for the Macedonian war. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B. C. 182.

Before the commencement of their Messenian expedition, the Achæans had sent an embassy to Rome craving assistance as allies, to cloak their fear of being attacked as enemies. The senate answered haughtily, that the Romans took no concern in the affairs of the Achæan league, and cared not, should Argos or even Corinth forsake it. But when Lycortas's expedition had been crowned with signal success, the senate assumed much merit from their forbearance to thwart his measures. The views of Rome were now entirely turned towards Macedon; for the Achæans, by complying with the senate's decree as to Lacedæmon, and by re-admitting the Messenians as free and equal members of their league, had removed every specious ground of quarrel.[84]

The partiality of the Romans for Demetrius excites Philip's jealousy.

The conduct of the king of Macedon had been altogether different. His son Demetrius, indeed, had returned with a conditional peace; but, as even this boon was explicitly granted through favour to the son, independently of any good-will towards the father, it had a tendency rather to widen the breach, and to envenom hostility by jealousy. Philip, whose conscious turpitude naturally rendered him suspicious, began to regard Demetrius in the light of a dangerous rival, whose influence with Rome had deprived him of the affections of the Macedonians, strongly inclined to peace, and who, through the same support, might one day rob him of his kingdom. These unworthy sugges-

[84] Polybius & Livy.

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tions of his own perturbed fancy, were aggravated by the arts of Perseus, his eldest son, and as such destined for the inheritance of his crown, conformably with the rule of royal succession long acknowledged in Macedon.

Rivalship between Demetrius and Perseus. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B.C. 182.

But a cloud of mystery hung over the birth of Perseus. Many believed him a supposititious child, whom his royal mother had introduced into Philip's bed, in order to conceal her barrenness. They even named the real mother, from whom he had been purchased; a certain Gnathænia of Argos, who disgraced the humble trade of a sempstress by one infinitely lower. Yet the cheat, if it was one, long past unchallenged: Perseus was now in his thirtieth year; Demetrius was five years younger; both had hitherto been treated with the honours due to royal descent: Perseus, in early youth, had been named to command armies in the Roman war; and Demetrius, at the termination of that war, had been sent at the head of the Macedonian hostages to Rome, in the same manner that the second son of Antiochus the Great afterwards passed thither at the conclusion of peace between the Romans and Syrians. The competition between the sons of Philip divided the court and army; the advantage on the side of the elder being balanced by the assured legitimacy of the younger; and Philip's predilection for Perseus, by the partiality of Rome to Demetrius.[85] When the latter returned to Macedon with flattering

[85] Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 53.

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prospects of peace, the number of his partizans greatly increased among the inhabitants of the sea-coast, who dreaded the renewal of war as the destruction of their commerce, and among all men of penetration, who deprecated it still more earnestly, as big with ruin to the kingdom.

Philip extends his territories and his alliances. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B. C. 182.

But this disposition in his people exasperated the angry passions of the king, and augmented his activity in providing means to gratify them. In compliance with the decrees of the senate, he withdrew, indeed, his garrisons from some maritime cities in Thrace and Thessaly. These reluctant cessions, however, were balanced by more important conquests. By arms or negociation he gained an ascendency over the Thracian tribes. The fiercest of that nation were enlisted in his service, and transported to the shores of Macedon, on which they acquired lands by the removal of old proprietors with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Philip carried into the heart of his kingdom the Greeks and Macedonians on his coast suspected of disaffection to his person, because they had shown themselves averse to his measures. Many of them joined his army to avoid the punishment of rebels, which they had seen unsparingly and indiscriminately inflicted; for, in prosecuting the work of death, the tyrant united with those actually accused of bad designs, the descendants of his ancient enemies; a proceeding which he justified by the tragedian's authority,

Fool! who the father smites, yet spares the son!

His activity was indefatigable. He was in all parts present, and every where dreadfully successful, illustrating Plato's remark, that the restless energies of men wax strong with their wickedness.[86] In Thrace, he planted a garrison at Philippopolis, a city watered by the Hebrus; on the side of Illyricum, he formed a new stronghold near the ancient Stobi, on the western bank of the Erigonus, and called it Perseis in honour of his elder son, who participated in all his councils, to the total exclusion of the younger.[87]

His friendship with the Bastarnæ, a German nation.

Beyond the Danube, Philip's renown reached the warlike nation of the Bastarnæ, whom historians variously ascribe to the German or Sarmatian name. The Bastarnæ, indeed, dwelt east of the Vistula, which is said, on the one hand, to have separated the Germans from the Sarmatians, as the Rhine, on the other, separated them from the Gauls. But Germany, long a warlike country, pushed its colonies on either side beyond these boundaries. Many nations of German extraction dwelt westward of the Rhine; and the Bastarnæ, though they inhabited the country east of the Vistula, agreed with the Germans in language, manners, and dress; above all, in cultivating the soil and living in fixed huts, instead of wandering in wains like the Sarmatians with their herds and tents.[88] The Bastarnæ listened with pleasure to a victorious prince, who flattered them with

[86] Plato in Repub. passim.
[87] Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 8. Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 3.
[88] Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 46. et Strabo, l. vii. p. 306.

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the prospect of easy conquests in Illyricum and Italy, countries more fruitful than their own. Some of their princes accompanied the return of Philip's embassy, one of whom offered his sister in marriage to Perseus the king's son. The father was pleased with the proposal, and much elated at the success of his negociation with a brave and powerful nation.

Intrigues for the ruin of Demetrius.

But Perseus, morose and gloomy, could taste no joy, while his brother Demetrius lived. The courtiers of Philip, who had fluctuated between the rival princes until the war with Rome seemed inevitable, now generally espoused the cause of the elder, and assisted him in his endeavours to ensnare and betray the younger. For this purpose, they spoke disdainfully of the Romans; vilified even their victories, as due solely to their allies; above all, derided such particulars in their manners and institutions as were the easiest to be placed in a contemptible point of view.[89] The naked meanness of their capital itself, sparingly adorned with works of architecture, formed the subject of a degrading contrast with the magnificence of Greece and Macedon. Instead of enjoying the accommodation of splendid furniture and pompous edifices, many Romans still lodged in cottages, and slept on straw.[90] Some of their leading men, who had exercised the highest offices of state, partook in the labour of their own slaves or servants, and used to eat

[89] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 5.

[90] Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 3. Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 3. et Cicero pro Roscio.

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with them at the same table, and even from the same dish.[91] Yet the haughtiness of such vile Barbarians, it was said, knew no bounds!

These reproaches were continually re-echoed in the ears of Demetrius, merely to provoke his anger. Warm, frank, and generous, he defended the Romans with an indignant zeal, which made him forget that they were the enemies of his country. His expressions, on such occasions, were industriously carried to his father, exaggerated by officious courtiers, and envenomed by the malignant Perseus. When Philip was boasting with his usual levity of his recent alliance with the Bastarnæ, Perseus gravely observed, "that foreign allies could little avail against dangerous domestic enemies. In his own family there was, he would not say a traitor, but certainly a spy, whose heart and affections, as the Romans themselves acknowledged, still remained hostages in Italy[92], though he had personally returned into Macedon. That the views of all men were directed towards Demetrius, thinking that they must shortly obey the king, whom the Romans chose to set over them."[93] Philip was stung with the remark: yet his pain was rather felt than expressed; the remains of paternal tenderness still pleaded for

[91] Plutarch. in Caton. Major. The sarcasms of the Macedonian courtiers would have been more applicable before the Romans made war in Asia, from which time their simplicity and frugality began to disappear. But the change of manners in nations is liable to be overlooked by their neighbours; who, to answer a purpose, will often describe them as they were, not as they are.

[92] See above. [93] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 5.

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an open, affectionate, and long dutiful son; and pride, mingling with shame, reminded him, that the house of Antigonus, his great ancestor, had remained invariably united in itself, throughout ages of profligacy and blood; under the sad accumulation of public and private crimes, concord had prevailed uninterruptedly in the royal family; fathers had been uniformly kind, and sons uniformly grateful. Amidst all the reproaches which his tyranny had incurred, Philip was unwilling to forfeit an old hereditary virtue.

Open rupture between him and Perseus. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B.C. 182.

Meanwhile, the enmity between his sons grew every day more apparent; and was no longer to be mitigated by the natural good humour of Demetrius, nor disguised by the cowardly cunning of Perseus. At a lustration[94] of the army, which, according to custom, concluded with a mock battle, the two princes engaged so warmly at the head of their respective partisans, that fit weapons only were wanting to convert this military pastime into a field of blood. Armed, as they were, with staves and foils, instead of spears and swords, the contending parties inflicted many severe wounds on each other. Perseus and his friends were at length put to rout: they rallied, however, in good order; and, as well as their opponents, repaired to an entertainment which their leaders had provided for them. The remainder of the day was to be spent in convivial merriment; in which Demetrius invited his brother to partake with him.

[94] See above, vol. i. p. 310.

This, Perseus declined; but sent in his stead, several of his adherents as spies, one of whom behaved so incautiously and insolently, that he was driven from the hall in disgrace, after receiving due chastisement from four youths, friends to Demetrius. That prince who, in the tumult of the drunken carousal, had not taken notice of this incident, exclaimed, as the wine began to animate his natural generosity of temper, and to make him forget his wrongs, "Why do we not go to Perseus? Let us hasten to him instantly, and remove any grudge that he may have conceived on account of his defeat." The proposal was approved by all, except the four youths who had just chastised the spy. Demetrius, still ignorant of this transaction, desired them also to attend him: they prepared to obey, but first armed themselves with concealed weapons. Intelligence of all that passed was quickly conveyed by a more cautious spy to Perseus. He instantly made fast his doors; and from the upper windows, which looked towards the street, reproached Demetrius for coming to him with armed men in order to take away his life. Demetrius answered not the accusation, nor even understood its meaning. Having made a frolicksome uproar to obtain admission, he returned to the place from whence he came, to renew the debauch with his companions.[95]

Accusation of De-

Next day Perseus equally surprised and

[95] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 6. et seq.

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metrius.—Means employed to convict him.

grieved his father with an account of this new enormity. Philip, with two of his oldest ministers, Lysimachus and Onomastus, sat in judgment on one of his sons, charged with the design of fratricide by the other. Each of the parties was allowed to introduce into the judgment-chamber three unarmed friends: two of Philip's body guards also attended. Thirteen persons being thus present, it is possible that a very accurate account of the whole proceeding was preserved, and that the speeches ascribed to Philip and his sons were really pronounced by them. Some embellishments they have, doubtless, received from a Roman pen, but the general purport of them flowed so naturally from the occasion, that the mind of every reader would anticipate their contents. Demetrius clearly exculpated himself from the crime with which he was charged. He was not equally successful in removing all suspicion of his unwarrantable correspondence with the Romans. To obtain certainty on this subject, Philip sent to Rome two of his courtiers, Apelles and Philocles, on pretence of an embassy to the senate; determining, meanwhile, that the accused prince should be carefully observed in all his actions, and excited by every artifice to reveal his inmost purposes.[96]

Philip's ascent to mount Hæmus.

It happened that Philip, accompanied by both his sons, made a progress from Pella through the northern parts of his dominions. From

[96] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 6. et seq.

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Olymp. cxlix. 4. B.C. 181.

Stobi in Pæonia, he travelled to Mædica on the frontiers of Thrace. As his imagination was filled with the great design of leading the Barbarians beyond the Danube into Italy, an inclination seized him of ascending to the top of mount Hæmus, seven marches distant, from which it was reported that the traveller could survey at one view the Euxine and Hadriatic seas, the river Danube, and the Alps. In this excursion, the king carried with him his elder son, whose eagerness for the invasion of Italy corresponded with his own. He left Demetrius behind; and shortly after, remanded him to Pella, attended by a small escort under Didas, a military governor in Pæonia. Didas, who had espoused the interests of the elder brother, gained the confidence of the younger with a view to betray him. Demetrius acknowledged that recent occurrences had afforded him sufficient proof of his father's unjust but incurable suspicions; that his only safety was in flight; and he rejoiced at finding a friend in Didas through whose means he might escape to Rome. This secret design was signified by letter to Perseus, and by him communicated to his father. Philip had by this time descended from mount Hæmus, where he had experienced intense cold, even in the month of August, but had not enjoyed any of the extensive and inviting prospects which he looked for, the mountain having continued uniformly involved in a thick fog.[97]

[97] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 22.

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Murder of Demetrius.

He was now in his way homeward through Mædica, and employed in besieging Petra, a mountain fort, which had presumed to shut its gates. From this place, which soon surrendered, he sent instructions to Didas to amuse his prisoner, and to be careful to prevent his escape. At the same time he gave orders for seizing the person of Herodorus, one of Demetrius's most intimate friends. No violence, however, was offered to either of them, until the return of Apelles and Philocles from Rome. To the discoveries of those men whom he deemed altogether impartial in the quarrel between his sons, Philip ultimately trusted. But Perseus had found means of suborning them. They conveyed to the king forged letters, under the hand and seal of Titus Quintius, "deprecating Philip's wrath against an unfortunate youth, who rather giddily than criminally had swerved from his duty." The treason of Demetrius now seemed to be fully established. His friend Herodorus was put to the torture, and died without uttering a word of accusation. Demetrius was conveyed to Heraclæa in Pæonia, and there poisoned by Didas at the entertainment following a sacrifice. He quickly perceived the effects of the fatal draught, and retired in great agony to his apartment, into which, lest his complaints should be overheard, two ruffians were sent to smother him.[98]

Philip discovers the

In his late angry negociation with the Ro-

[98] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 24.

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treachery of Perseus and his accomplices.

mans, Philip said threateningly, that the sun of all his days had not yet set. It set for ever with the murder of Demetrius. Immediately on that event, Perseus, the great promoter of it, totally changed his conduct. Instead of perpetual assiduity about his father, and unbounded deference to his will, he kept himself at a distance, held separate councils with his partisans, and betrayed unequivocal signs of an unnatural eagerness to reign. This alteration in Perseus awakened the latent suspicions which the king silently entertained concerning his unworthy treatment of Demetrius. They were at length communicated to Antigonus, his near kinsman, who had long discerned the turpitude of Perseus, notwithstanding the deep veil of hypocrisy under which it was concealed; and who, being now assured of the king's willingness to believe him, determined to unmask the traitor. As he doubted not but the letter from Titus Quintius was forged, on which chiefly the king's proceedings had been grounded, he seized on Xychas, a scribe, who was much connected with Philocles and Apelles, and who should seem to have served them in the office of secretary in their embassy to Italy. Xychas, when first brought to Philip, denied that he had any secret to impart; but a seasonable application to his fears, made him acknowledge that he had counterfeited the hand writing and signature of Quintius, for the purpose of ruining Demetrius. Of his two accomplices, Apelles took guilt on himself, by a hasty flight beyond seas;

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Philocles was seized and secured; according to one account he confessed his guilt on being confronted with Xychas; others say, that he endured the torture without making any discovery. Independently of such testimony, Philip had obtained complete conviction in his own mind, and declared himself the unhappiest of men in the death of one son and the life of the other.[99]

Perseus defies his deceived father — death of Philip. Olymp. cl. 2. B. C. 179.

That other was too powerful for punishment. He kept on the frontiers of Macedon, at the head of his numerous partisans, defying the vengeance of his father, whom a mixture of grief and rage was hurrying to the grave. In the extremity of his affliction, Philip would have abandoned his country to destruction, or even have bequeathed it to his worst enemies the Romans, a mode of extinction that afterwards became not uncommon in Greek kingdoms. But from these desperate purposes he was diverted by the engagements which he had contracted with the Bastarnæ for the invasion of Italy, and not less by the desire to reward Antigonus, in whom, from his success in vindicating the innocence of Demetrius, he beheld that injured young prince restored, as it were, to life, and reinstated in all his rights. Antigonus thus obtained the expectancy of the crown; and being conducted by Philip through the central provinces and cities of Macedon, while Perseus still kept at the extremities, was every

[99] Tit. Liv. l. xl c. 55.

where recommended to the inhabitants as their future sovereign.[100]

He shortly afterwards undertook an embassy to the Bastarnæ, whose assistance might prove equally important against domestic and foreign enemies. But his mission to those distant allies proved highly unseasonable; for Philip, after spending a considerable time at his favourite cities Demetrias and Thessalonica, proceeded to Amphipolis to meet the return of Antigonus, and was there seized with a fever which ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and forty-second of his reign. Naturally enterprising, and always active, he deserved in early life the nobler praise of justice and clemency. But being beset by bad counsellors, his youthful mind was fired with an ambition that spurned every obstacle in the way of its gratification: and one crime hurried him into another, until he merited the character stamped on him by Roman historians; as a cruel master, an unnatural father, a perfidious ally, and a relentless enemy. His physician Calligenes was the creature of Perseus, to whom the king's danger was communicated, though concealed from all besides. The son hastened to secure the inheritance of his father's throne, and effectually succeed in this purpose, while Antigonus was still on his way to Amphipolis. Near to this place, a rumour first reached him of the sad alteration in his fortune. Before he had time to escape,

[100] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 56.

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a party of soldiers seized his person; and to give orders for the death of Antigonus should seem to have been the first important act in the reign of Perseus.[101]

Disasters of his allies the Bastarnæ. Olymp. cl. 2.—cli. 2. B.C. 179—175.

The Bastarnæ, meanwhile, were in motion. Before Philip's death was known, the first divisions of them crossed the Danube, and began to march through Thrace, in confidence of the measures taken for their friendly reception in that country, and their secure passage to Dardania. But the revolution, which had happened in Macedon, disconcerted all their measures. Instead of friends in the Thracians, they found in that people implacable enemies. Many perished by the sword, many more by the inclemency of the weather, and by their folly in pursuing the enemy over barren heaths and stormy mountains. In the thunder and lightning of mount Hæmus, they thought that heaven combated against them, and manifestly condemned their enterprise.[102] Scarcely thirty thousand of the vast multitude penetrated to Dardania, and gained possession of that country which, on account of its inveterate hostility to Macedon, Philip wished to subject to the havock of those ravagers in their way to the Alps. Having remained in that Illyrian district about four years, an unfortunate war, with the revived courage of the natives, drove them from Dardania, and made them take the road homeward in the heart of winter. The firm ice of the

[1] Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 56. [102] Ibid. c. 57, 58.

Danube seemed to offer them a secure passage; but it suddenly gave way under the collected mass of men and cattle; and the greater part of the Bastarnæ perished in the river.[103] Rome, destined at last to fall by the hands of Goths and Germans, thus remained safe from those barbarians for nearly six centuries; the boldest project in the reign of Philip having been defeated by his premature death.

[103] Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

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Situation and Policy of Perseus. — His Negociations with the Powers of Asia and Europe. — Usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes. — Reports of Roman Ambassadors from Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. — Attempted Assassination of Eumenes. — Accusations against Perseus. — Campaign of Licinius Crassus. — Of Aulus Hostilius. — Of Martius Philippus. — Passage of Octoluphus. — War in Illyricum. — Paulus Emilius takes the Command in Macedon. — Battle of Pydna. — Conquest of Macedon. — Ruin of its Royal Family. — Illiberal and cruel Conditions imposed on it. — Treatment of its Abettors among the Etolians, Achæans, Rhodians. — Affairs of Syria and Egypt. — Plunder of Illyricum. — Desolation of Epirus. — Wealth accumulated by the Romans. — How employed by them.

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Situation and policy of Perseus. Olymp. cl. 3. B.C. 178.

A new war must have commenced between Rome and Macedon, had Philip lived only a few months longer; and his death, at the critical juncture when it happened, is admitted, even by the pride of Roman historians, as an event highly propitious to their commonwealth. The circumstances of Perseus were altogether different from his father's. A powerful party in the country denied his right of succession: he was personally odious to the numerous adherents of his late brother Demetrius; and, instead of

help from the Bastarnæ, he had reason to dread their hostility. On the cowardly mind of Perseus, fear produced the effects of prudence. By every imaginable concession, he soothed his enemies at home and abroad. Proclamations were made for recalling to their country, and reinstating in their possessions, all persons who had been banished by the resentment or jealousy of Philip; edicts to this effect being suspended in the temples of Delphi and Delos, and other general resorts of superstition and commerce. In his domestic government, Perseus made no distinction between his own partisans and those of his late rival: justice was administered with impartiality; and promotions in the state and army were regulated by the natural claims of birth, rank, and tried merit. The maxims of his foreign policy were equally conciliatory. His ambassadors, sent to Rome, spoke of nothing but amity, concord, and the unbounded respect of their master for the will of the senate. Perseus disavowed with truth all share in his father's negociations with the nations beyond the Danube; he courted assiduously the Roman allies in Greece; undertook a journey to Delphi, where he behaved at once popularly and piously; and dispatched from thence letters or messages to all the neighbouring cities, exhorting them to forget past dissensions with Macedon, and assuring them, that, on his part, nothing should be left untried for recovering that fair renown among the Greeks which his father Philip, in

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the latter part of his reign, had too justly forfeited.[1]

He offers to send back debtors and fugitive slaves belonging to Achaia and Attica.

To the Athenians, the oldest allies of Rome, and to the Achæans, who were at this time the most respectable, he offered advantages of such a nature as, he had reason to think, would be highly welcome. During the late reign, these two states had passed decrees, prohibiting all intercourse with Macedon; the Athenians, chiefly with a view thereby to flatter the Romans; the Achæans, partly from the same motive, and partly from their desire of excluding every interference in their affairs by a powerful foreign prince. But regulations debarring the Macedonians from entering the territories of Athens and Achaia, also hindered, by a natural consequence, the citizens of these republics from all access to the kingdom of Macedon, and thus prevented creditors and masters from reclaiming their debtors and runaway slaves; both which descriptions of fugitives had retired in great numbers within the Macedonian frontier. Perseus wrote to the Athenians and Achæans, that he had made search for all persons amenable to their jurisdiction; that he had been fortunate in discovering the greater part of them; and was desirous, out of regard for those whom it concerned, to remand them to their respective homes. In the Achæan council, the acceptance of this proposal was recommended by the pretor Xenarchus, but opposed by Calli-

[1] Conf. Polyb. l. xxxvi. c. 1. & Tit. Liv. l. xli. c. 1—4.

crates, a man so totally devoted to Rome, that he was afraid of entering into any friendly transaction with a prince, likely to become obnoxious to that commonwealth. On such an unworthy ground, Perseus's offer, first communicated by letter, and afterwards by the more respectful mode of a formal embassy, was rejected, to the deep regret of those Achæans who wished to maintain the independence of their country, and particularly of Lycortas and Arco, formerly the pupils and friends of Philopœmen; and, now that he was no more, fondly attached to his maxims, and zealous in prosecuting his measures.[2] History does not inform us of the proceedings of the Athenians on the same occasion: but as they, of all the Greeks, were the meanest in their adulation to Rome, and the loudest in their invectives against Macedon, it may warrantably be inferred that their behaviour was not less pusillanimous.

His negociation with the powers of Europe and Asia. Olymp. cli. 3.—cl. 1. B. C. 178—176.

Without testifying the smallest resentment against such states as declined connection with him, Perseus cultivated with diligence and address all those to whom he could gain admission; particularly the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Etolians. In these and other communities, the lower classes of men favoured the king of Macedon, merely because their superiors inclined to the Romans; many followed the impulse of that natural generosity, which, in the sportive combats of the stadium, commonly disposed the

[2] Tit. Liv. l. xli. c. 23, 24. Polyb. l. xxvi. c. 1—3.

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multitude to abet the weaker party: even among the higher ranks, all who had not any interested purpose to serve, acknowledged and lamented that the plausible patronage[3] of the Romans was gradually exalting itself into sovereignty; and, though they considered the evil as less, of acknowledging the supremacy of that distant people, than of paying obedience to a king in their own neighbourhood, yet they earnestly desired to avoid submission to either; and, in the contest ready to take place between them, wished to render the balance even, that they might not themselves lie at the mercy of the conqueror.[4] In this disposition of the Greeks, Perseus recovered, without exciting alarm, some possessions that had belonged to his ancestors; particularly the district of Dolopia, on the frontier of Epirus.[5] He formed connections with the small states into which that renowned kingdom of Pyrrhus had long been divided; he entered into a negociation with Gentius, king of the Illyrians; and he completely gained Cotys, leader of the Odryssians, and the most powerful chieftain in Thrace.[6] Not confining his views to Europe, he looked towards the powers of Asia; where Eumenes, indeed, who swayed the politics of the peninsula, was his hereditary and irreconcileable foe. But we have seen the jea-

[3] Cicero uses the word after it had long ceased to be applicable. Itaque illud, patrocinium orbis terræ verius, quam imperium nominari poterat. De Offic. l. ii. c. 8.

[4] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 30.

[5] Id. l. xli. c. 22.

[6] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 29.

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lousies, which, in the partition of the spoils of Antiochus the Great, had arisen between Eumenes and the Rhodians. In the first year of his reign, Perseus spared no pains to conciliate those islanders; and, through their means, entered into treaty with the king of Syria, and espoused his daughter Laodicé. As Seleucus, in terms of the peace granted by Rome to his father, was debarred from the use of vessels of any considerable magnitude, the Rhodians, with a splendid fleet, escorted the bride from Antioch to Pella.[7] In the way thither, they anchored in the sacred island of Delos, where Laodicé made valuable offerings to Latona and her divine children. Her generous piety was extolled, with due praise, by the Delians, and afterwards commemorated by a marble statue erected in their island, in honour "of queen Laodicé, the wife of Perseus."[8] Shortly after celebrating his own nuptials, Perseus betrothed his sister to Prusias II. king of Bithynia.[9] These were the only marriages by which he could strengthen his interest in the east; for Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia, having escaped, as related above, the vengeance of the Romans by contracting an affinity with Eumenes, followed thenceforward the advice of that prince, in choosing both his friends and his enemies. The king of Egypt was a minor under the prudent

He marries Laodicé, daughter to Seleucus.

Betroths his sister to Prusias.

Politics of Cappadocia and Egypt.

[7] Polyb. l. xxvi. c. 7.

[8] The pedestal, containing this inscription, has come down to modern times. Vid. Marmor. Oxon. Numb. 142.

[9] Plutarch. de Fratern. Amor.

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guardianship of his mother Cleopatra. This princess, daughter to Antiochus the Great, had profited in the school of adversity. She maintained a friendly intercourse with the Romans, and instilled into her docile son, Ptolemy Philometor, a respectful deference for those ancient allies and powerful protectors.

Antiochus Epiphanes. Olymp. cli. 2. B.C. 175.

Such continued to be the state of the eastern kingdoms, when, in the fifth year of Perseus's reign, his father-in-law Seleucus was poisoned by the high-treasurer Heliodorus, who assumed his master's diadem. Demetrius, son to Seleucus, was then in his way to Rome in exchange for Antiochus, brother to the same prince, who had crossed the Hadriatic after remaining a hostage in Italy thirteen years. To crush the rebellion of the Syrians, Antiochus came among them escorted by the arms of Eumenes: their loyalty returned to the house of the great Nicator; Heliodorus paid the just forfeit of his crimes; and, for strengthening the throne, the present Antiochus, a prince of mature age, was preferred to the absent Demetrius, a boy in his twelfth year.[10] Yet, as the ordinary rules of succession were hereby violated, Antiochus, who, in opposition to the ignoble usurper whom he had destroyed, was entitled Epiphanes, had recourse to every expedient for gaining favour with those who had the power, and, as it eventually suited them, might have the will to dispute his title. He

[10] Appian. Syriac. Hieron. in Daniel, xi. 21.

courted the Romans by the meanest compliances; in the streets of Antioch he exhibited the dress and manners of a Roman citizen; he would solicit votes and distribute money like a republican candidate for magistracy; and his behaviour, while it was directed to the flattery of a foreign power, seemed so uncouth and extravagant to his own subjects, that instead of Epiphanes, "the illustrious," they nicknamed him Epimanes, "the madman;" neither of which epithets, as will appear hereafter, strictly characterised him.[11]

Embassies from Rome to the East. Olymp. cli. 4. B.C. 173.

During these transactions in the east, the Romans had been withheld from the Macedonian war, long meditated, by constant occupation against the Ligurians and Spaniards; nations often vanquished yet always in rebellion.[12] But in the sixth year of the reign of Perseus, they sent four ambassadors, respectively, to Greece, Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Marcellus, who was at the head of the deputation into Greece, met the Achæans in council (we know not in which of their allied cities), and greatly commended them for adherence to their decree prohibiting all intercourse with Macedon[13]; a decree conformable indeed to the narrow views of Rome, but on the part of the Achæans, equally impolitic and illiberal. The declaration of Marcellus on this subject afforded a clear proof of the odium in which Perseus was held; and that

[11] Polyb. l. xxvi. c. 10.
[12] Liv. l. xli. c. 18.
[13] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 6.

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even his fairest measures were to be counteracted, merely because he was their author.

Jealousy between Eumenes and Perseus.

This hatred, originating in interest, was inflamed into animosity by the appearance of king Eumenes in the senate. That prince, instead of sending ambassadors to Rome, had come thither in person, the more surely to excite war against a neighbour peculiarly obnoxious to him. Perseus, looking beyond Europe, had extended his influence among the innumerable free cities on the coast of Asia, many of which had chosen as a patron more honourable than Eumenes, the representative of the long line of Macedonian kings. Unfortunately, these cities were bound by no general confederacy with each other: they defended their precarious independence by the strength of their walls, or held it by the wavering wills of foreign princes, whose interests they balanced, and whose favour they conciliated, generally contriving to make friends of the strongest.

Eumenes inflames the Romans against Perseus. Olymp. clii. 1. B.C. 172.

The king of Pergamus was received at Rome with every mark, not only of honour, but of cordial affection. Upon his first application, the doors of the senate-house were opened to him. He began by saying, that he had just performed a long journey, not solely from a desire to visit the gods and men, through whose bounty he had been raised to a condition than which he could desire none higher, but to give the senate seasonable warning of the transactions and designs of Perseus. He then recounted the proceedings above related, of that prince, and

placed them all in the most unfavourable light; not omitting the ascendency which he had acquired among the cities of Asia, which Eumenes artfully ascribed to their malignant hatred of the Romans. He exaggerated the powerful alliances which his rival had formed in Greece, Epirus, and Illyricum. "But, independently of foreign aid, the increase of domestic resources, during a peace of twenty-five years, rendered Macedon truly formidable. Her army amounted to 30,000 infantry, and 5000 horse: magazines of corn had been provided for the supply of full ten years; the treasury was filled with money sufficient to pay, for an equal term, 10,000 mercenaries; the revenues, particularly those derived from the mines, were in a state alarmingly productive: and Perseus, in his arsenals, had coats of mail and all sorts of weapons for an army three times more numerous than that now on foot. Whenever he took arms, his exertions were likely to prove not less persevering than vigorous. The youth of Macedon, if it fought alone, might indeed fall to decay, but the Illyrians, and especially the Thracians, nations entirely at his devotion, would supply him with an exhaustless store of stout and stubborn soldiery." Moved by these considerations, Eumenes said, "that it had appeared to him becoming of his own fidelity and zeal to apprise the Romans of their danger, instead of allowing them to learn it from an invading enemy."[14]

[14] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 11, 12, 13.

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Defence made by Perseus's ambassadors.

The king's representations produced their full effect. A few days afterwards, a meeting of the senate was granted to the Macedonians, commissioned to defend their master. They were heard with great impatience; and the ungracious reception, which they met with, provoked Harpalus, the head of their embassy, to speak with a degree of freedom that farther widened the breach. He said, that Perseus had spared no pains to repel calumny, "and to convince the world that there had been nothing of hostility in any of his words or actions. But that, should the Romans obstinately persevere in seeking false grounds of quarrel, his master would prepare to defend himself. The chance of war was equal."[15]

Complaints of the Rhodians against Eumenes.

The negociations with Pergamus and Macedon had brought to Rome deputies from most of the free cities in Greece and Lesser Asia. They came thither under various pretences, but the great common motive was to watch the result of transactions deeply interesting to all, and to give them, if possible, the turn most favourable to their several views. From respect for Eumenes, he had been heard in the senate not only the first, but alone; and the other strangers knew the purport of his discourse merely by conjecture. The Rhodians were highly dissatisfied with this mode of proceeding. They desired to be confronted with the king, who, they doubted not, had mingled

[15] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 24.

complaints against themselves with his accusations of Perseus. As ancient and faithful allies to Rome, they vindicated the justice of this demand, and obtained it through the interest of those senators who had long been connected with their island in the bands of hospitality and friendship. Satyrus, who headed their deputation, did not content himself with acting the part of a defendant. He pronounced a warm invective against Eumenes, represented his ascendency as more grievous to the free cities in Asia than that of Antiochus, whom he had supplanted: and maintained, that he wished to bring back Roman armies to the East, merely that he might be abetted by them in his unjust usurpations and cruel oppressions. This language met with applause from the Asiatic deputies who were present; but it highly offended the senate, and eventually proved, as we shall see, not a little injurious to the Rhodians. To Eumenes, on the other hand, it was useful: the general and unjust conspiracy of his neighbours, only endeared him the more to the Romans: accordingly, a most flattering decree immediately passed in his favour, and he was honoured with an ivory rod, a curule chair, and such other symbols of friendship as the commonwealth bestowed on its most deserving confederates. [16]

Acceptable to the Asiatic deputies, and offensive to the senate.

Shortly after this transaction, ambassadors having returned from their above-mentioned

Report of the Roman am-

[16] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 24.

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bassadors from Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Olymp. clii. 1. B. C. 172.

missions to Pella, Antioch, and Alexandria, made report of their proceedings to the senate. With regard to Macedon, they confirmed the statement given by Eumenes of its menacing posture. "The kings of Syria and Egypt," they said, "had been warmly solicited by Perseus to join in his hostile designs; but Antiochus had learned to know the Romans by his long residence among them, and Ptolemy continued to honour and revere them as hereditary protectors: both these princes adhered firmly to the faith of treaties, and were zealous, in case of war, to afford every aid required of them."[17] This information had much influence on the senate, but its resentment against Perseus was exasperated to the highest degree by accounts received from a different quarter: accounts, which, if true, would brand that prince as the most execrable of criminals, and which, on the other hand, if false, must disgrace his enemies as the basest of calumniators.

Eumenes attacked by assassins in his ascent to Delphi. Olymp. clii. 1. B. C. 171.

His ambassador, Harpalus, had, on the first indication of the senate's unalterable displeasure, hastened back to Macedon, and was said to have greatly incensed his master against Eumenes, as the chief author of the war which he represented as now become inevitable. It was not doubted that Eumenes, on his way home to Pergamus, would signalise his piety by a visit to Delphi. This journey would afford an opportunity for intercepting and destroying him

[17] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 26.

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amidst the intricate paths and craggy rocks which environed the sacred city. Eumenes, in fact, as he ascended from Cirrha to the temple, by a narrow and lonesome tract, where two persons could not conveniently walk abreast, was overwhelmed by a shower of stones, and taken up for dead by his attendants. The perpetrators of this enormity made their escape by the heights of Parnassus, having slain one of their accomplices who was unable to keep pace with them; by which cruel expedient they remained unknown. Upon examining the prostrate body of Eumenes, his attendants perceived that he still breathed. Proper assistance was administered to him: he was carried to the sea-coast, only a few miles distant: embarked there in a vessel for Corinth, and from thence was transported to Ægina, an island, as we have seen, long subject to his dominion. At Ægina, he kept himself in the greatest privacy; none were admitted to his presence but those instrumental to his cure; he thus set sail and arrived in Pergamus before the first rumours of his death had been completely dissipated, loudly accusing his inveterate adversary Perseus as author of the attempted assassination. To confirm this charge before the senate, Caius Valerius, one of the Roman commissioners in Greece, brought with him into Italy Praxo, a citizen of Delphi, who declared that, about the time of Eumenes's disaster, he had accommodated with lodging four strangers, three of whom were Macedonians, and the fourth a certain Evander

Perseus accused of this enormity, and other crimes more secret and more odious.

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of Crete, commander of some Cretan mercenaries in the service of Perseus. But, as if the violence done to Eumenes had not been sufficient to provoke the senators to war, Valerius was provided with another witness, who accused Perseus of the most odious secret enormities. This accuser was Lucius Rammius, a citizen of Brundusium, the richest and most generous inhabitant of that place. It was the custom of Rammius to receive into his house and entertain with magnificent hospitality, not only illustrious Romans employed in the public service, but the ministers of foreign states, and particularly of kings. His fame reached the ears of Perseus, whose ambassadors, in their way to Rome, had often experienced Rammius's good offices. Perseus invited him to Pella, and prevailed with him to visit that capital. But Rammius, as he declared, had not been long there, when he found himself admitted to a degree of familiarity with the king far greater than he desired, and made partaker in secrets with which he would have wished never to become acquainted. The king finally requested him to employ the opportunity afforded by his hospitable style of life, for destroying by poison those Romans whom he should, from time to time, name to him; giving assurances, that the execution of this plan could not be attended with the smallest risk, because he would be supplied with poisons potent and efficacious, yet altogether imperceptible in their effects, either at the time when administered, or during the progress of their slow and secret

operation. Rammius affected to enter into these views, lest he should himself become the victim of Perseus's dire pharmacy: he had embraced, however, he said, the first opportunity of getting beyond the reach of the king's venomous fangs; but, after being made privy to such horrid projects, had not ventured upon returning into Italy, until he had confessed all that he knew to Valerius then at Chalcis, to whom he had immediately repaired, and whom he now accompanied to Rome, that he might repeat his confession in the senate.[18]

Preparations of the Romans — they change the complement of the legion.

When the other crimes of Perseus were blackened by such foul imputations, the Romans, not waiting to employ their usual forms in making war, ordered a body of troops to rendezvous at Brundusium, that they might be ready to sail to Illyricum, and anticipate the enemy in seizing Apollonia and other safe harbours on that coast. Ships were collected from the sea-ports of Magna Græcia and Sicily, to the amount of fifty quinqueremes; and corn was provided chiefly from the inland districts of these countries and from Sardinia. It was determined that the consul Licinius Crassus should levy, besides a due proportion of allies, two Roman legions for the service of the Macedonian war; each legion to consist of 6000 infantry and 300 horse, instead of 5000 infantry and 200 horse, which had hitherto been the full legionary complement. An innovation was also made in

[18] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 17.

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the appointment of military tribunes, who were to be named by the generals, instead of being elected by the suffrages of the people.[19] During the progress of the consul's preparations, the pretor Cneius Licinius, who commanded the forces assembled at Brundusium, sailed with 5000 men to Apollonia, and encamped in that neighbourhood. Confidential agents were at the same time dispatched to all the nations of Europe and Asia who were likely to take interest in the approaching war, or to fall within the sphere of its operations. Not less that five embassies were sent to the countries contiguous to Macedon; they arrived at Corcyra, carrying with them an escort of a thousand infantry, which they divided among them, after settling in that island the plan of their future motions. Agreeably to this plan, Decimius repaired to Gentius, the most considerable prince in Illyricum, and, notwithstanding the benefits conferred by Rome on his father Pleuratus, strongly suspected of defection. The two Lentuli sailed to Cephalenia, that they might visit, before winter, the coasts of Peloponnesus, and make sure of the Roman allies in that peninsula. The most important commissions were assigned to Marcius and Atilius, who were to examine the temper of men in Epirus, Etolia, and Thessaly; from thence to pass into Bœotia and Eubœa; and then to meet the Lentuli in Peloponnesus, that they might compare with them

Their numerous negociations. Olymp. clii. 2. B.C. 171.

[19] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 31.

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the result of their respective negociations, and concert measures for rendering them on all sides successful. This, indeed, was the general issue; the ambassadors succeeded even beyond their hopes, with the single exception of Decimius, who, having failed to gain the Illyrians, returned home, loaded with the imputation of being bribed by the enemies of his country.[29]

Perseus's interview with Marcius the Roman commissioner. Olymp. clii. 2. B.C. 171.

Perseus, though he urged his preparations with activity, had testified a desire for maintaining peace by successive applications at Rome and at Corcyra, before the separation of the Roman ambassadors in that island. He was, on both occasions, scornfully repulsed; yet, when he learned that Marcius, whose father had been the guest and friend of king Philip, had proceeded to Larissa in Thessaly, he sent fresh messengers to request an interview. Marcius answered, that he well knew the intimacy which had subsisted between Perseus's father and his own; moved by which consideration, he had the more willingly undertaken his present mission into Greece: that he likewise wished for a conference, and to that end, would proceed with all convenient speed to the river Peneus, near the passage between Omolium and Dium. A few days afterwards the king came thither, escorted by his guards and attended by a splendid retinue of his friends and courtiers. Marcius, also, was honourably accompanied by deputies from the allied cities, all of whom were

[29] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 45.

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anxious to behold the meeting between a powerful king and the ambassadors of a renowned and mighty commonwealth. Some altercation took place about adjusting the point of ceremony, which party should come to the other by crossing the Peneus. Marcius, whose surname was Philip, terminated this controversy, by saying, let the younger come to the older, the son to the father. A new question was started, what number of Macedonians should pass over. Perseus proposed bringing with him his whole escort. This was complied with, but on condition that the king should grant hostages: a demand made, not so much for the sake of security, as to prove to the numerous strangers present, that the Romans and Macedonians did not treat as equals. Notwithstanding these very unpromising preludes, the parties met each other with every appearance of cordiality; and both being seated, Marcius began the conference. "You desire, I presume, Perseus! to have an answer to the questions in your letters to Corcyra, why we, who are ambassadors, have crossed the seas with an armed force, and why Roman garrisons have been sent into several cities on your side the Hadriatic. Not to answer would be haughty; to answer truly, I fear will seem harsh. Yet those who violate treaties, must expect to be punished either by words or deeds. In the latter mode of chastisement, the Romans, I hope, will employ some other than me; therefore, however it may hurt my feelings, I will declare for the sake of you, an hereditary

guest and friend! the wrongs of which my country complains." Marcius then enumerated all the injuries and crimes of which Perseus had been accused by his enemies in Greece, by king Eumenes, and by Rammius of Brundusium. He accumulated the charge, by saying, with how much pain he had learned, that two Thebans, Evercas and Callicritus, had been intercepted on their mission to Rome, and cruelly assassinated; and that Perseus had stripped of his dominions Abrupolis the Thracian, and had afforded protection to the murderers of Artetarus the Illyrian, though both these princes were allies of the Roman people.[21] The king in reply, lamented "that he had found accusers, in those to whom he had been willing to submit as judges. The things laid to his charge, he said, were either lying calumnies, or actions, of which, rightly viewed, he needed not to be ashamed. The allegations of Rammius and Eumenes were of the former kind. They were unsupported by any evidence; and had reason, probability, and common sense directly against them. It was likely that he should admit Rammius to his inmost privacy, a stranger whom he had never seen but once on a short visit. Had Eumenes no other enemies but himself, that Eumenes whom the Romans, by the complaints recently made of him in their senate-house, had found to be justly obnoxious to so many individuals, and so many communities both of Europe

Perseus ably repels the accusations against him.

[21] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 40.

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and of Asia! Could not the Thebans, Evercas and Callicritus, perish by shipwreck among the stormy Cyclades, unless the baleful Perseus had co-operated towards their destruction? Abrupolis the Thracian, now acknowledged for the ally of the Romans, had carried his ravages into Macedon. He was repulsed, and vanquished in a just war. The Illyrian Artetarus, another of their allies, had fallen a prey to domestic sedition. His murderers, indeed, had sought refuge in Macedon; and there, for a short time, had found it. Upon the first remonstrance from the Romans, they had been expelled from that kingdom. In all this, where is the ground, nay, the pretence for quarrel? By the laws of Rome [22], as well as of Greece, criminals, under certain circumstances, were allowed to fly into exile; an useless indulgence if no place is to be left open for their reception! Do the Romans hold themselves guilty of all the misdeeds perpetrated by those unhappy men to whom they have at any time afforded an asylum in Italy?" [23] Marcius affected to be convinced by the king's discourse. On this account he granted him, though with apparent hesitation, a few weeks' truce, that he might renew his applications to the senate. During this interval, the Roman agents continued to promote, without obstruc-

[22] In public trials at Rome, persons accused were not put under restraint. They might retire into voluntary exile, even when the last tribe was employed in giving its suffrage against them. Ascon. in Ciceron. in Verr.

[23] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 41.

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tion, the views of there republic on both sides the Ægean: they were alike successful on both; particularly in recovering the good will of the Rhodians, who were able to reinforce them at sea by a fleet of forty galleys. Upon his return to Rome, Marcius had the effrontery to boast, in the senate-house of the deceit which he had practised on the king, whose preparations, he said, were in such a state of forwardness, while the Romans were yet getting ready, as would have enabled him to commence the war with many decided advantages. A few senators condemned the duplicity and meanness of this proceeding: but so totally had the maxims of the Romans changed, that a great majority of the senate extolled Marcius's dexterity; and a decree immediately passed for his return with a squadron of quinqueremes into Greece, and for allowing him to use his own best judgment in promoting the interests of his country. Orders were, at the same time, dispatched to his late colleagues in the embassy, that they should occupy, with the troops at their disposal, the strong-holds in Bœotia and Thessaly.[24]

Marcius boasts of his deceit in the senate.

Meanwhile, the pretor Caius Lucretius had been assembling the fleet at Naples to the number of forty quinqueremes; with which, having sailed from that harbour, he arrived on the fifth day in the isle of Cephalenia. His brother Marcus, who preceded him, had orders to collect

The Romans sail to Apollonia—their forces. Olymp. clii. 2. B.C. 171.

[24] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 47.

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a few galleys promised by the Locrians, Urians [25], and Rhegians. He touched afterwards at Epidamnus, and finding there sixty-six vessels belonging to king Gentius and the commonwealth of Issus, he carried them also into Cephalenia, pretending to believe that they had been equipped by those allies for his service. At Cephalenia, the fleet remained inactive, until the army, under the consul Publius Licinius Crassus, should cross the Hadriatic. This general, to whom the province of Macedon had fallen by lot, left Rome in a military garb to join the army that awaited his orders at Brundusium. [26] Hitherto unknown to fame, he went to take the command in an expedition, long meditated, against a kingdom whose renown had once filled the world; which, under Philip, father to the present king, had maintained against three consular armies no ignoble warfare, and which, as the senate declared, was eager to renew the contest after having repaired its exhausted strength in a peace of twenty-five years. The Macedonians remembered their recent wounds, but were also mindful of their ancient glory. In the midst of submissive vassals to Rome, they stood erect, and frowning: considerable anxiety, therefore, attended this expedition, and great preparations had been

[25] Uria, now Oria, was a city little known, between Brundusium and Tarentum. Strabo, l. vi. p. 195. It was a colony of Crete. Herodotus, l. vii. c. 170.

[26] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 48, 49.

made for it. The transports conveyed from Brundusium to Apollonia two Roman legions now respectively raised to their full establishment of 6000 foot and 300 horse: the allies were not less numerous; so that the consular army exceeded 25,000 men. Five thousand Romans, as we have seen, had already taken post in different parts of Greece; a reinforcement of seven thousand allies was expected from king Eumenes; the Achæans and other republics, it was not doubted, would raise their contingents and signalise their zeal; cavalry and elephants had been ordered from Numidia; and, as Perseus had but few ships of war, and those chiefly concealed for safety within his fortified harbours, the marines on board the Roman fleet of forty sail, and even most of the rowers, might be employed in co-operating by land with the army; in strengthening posts, besieging maritime cities, and in transporting themselves quickly along the coast, and acting seasonably on any exposed part of it.

Perseus takes the field in Thessaly. Olymp. clii. 2. B.C. 171.

Perseus, in consequence of the deceit practised on him by Marcius, his hereditary guest, had been anticipated in his negociations with the Rhodians and other republics of Asia. His ambassadors, sent to Rome, had returned from that city, and made report of their peremptory dismission by the senate.[27] The hopes of peace being thus destroyed, the king held a council of his ministers and generals at Pella, only a few

[27] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 48.

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days before the consular army reached Apollonia. As concession had heightened the pride of the enemy, no resource remained but in arms. The Romans had fought Philip on pretence of emancipating Greece; they now levied war on Perseus with the evident purpose of conquering Macedon. Yet no slight resistance was to be expected from 40,000 foot and 4000 horse, collected for the defence of that kingdom. Perseus put himself at their head at Citium, in the neighbourhood of Pella. His suitable speech was received with acclamation; the deputies from the states of his kingdom offered him contributions in money and in corn: he desired for the present, only to be supplied with baggage-waggons and beasts of burthen, and made preparations for invading Greece without delay, that the Roman allies, and his own inveterate enemies in that country, might be the first sufferers in the war. The army marched with expedition fifty miles through the beautiful district of Pieria, crossed the river Haliacmon, and traversed the Cambunian mountains which cover the frontier of Thessaly. In that province, long subject to his ancestors, Perseus had a few partisans, but many more exasperated foes. He was unwilling to leave any strong cities behind him, and therefore made himself master of all the principal places north of the river Peneus, which intersects the country almost in its utmost breadth. He strongly garrisoned Gonni, at the entrance of the famous valley of Tempé, and having there ferried over the Peneus, took post

at Sycurium, about five miles south of its bank, and at a smaller distance from the foot of mount Ossa. In this situation his soldiers enjoyed every convenience in point of wood and most salubrious water, and all the southern districts of Thessaly lay open to their incursions.[28]

The consul Licinius, with his allies, arrives on the western frontier of Thessaly.

Perseus had not continued long at Sycurium when the consul, having penetrated without interruption through the defiles of Epirus and Athamania, arrived on the western frontier of Thessaly, and encamped on the river Peneus, in the neighbourhood of Larissa. There, the Romans were soon joined by Eumenes, who had left Pergamus in company with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus. Philetærus, a fourth brother, remained as viceroy in Pergamus. Athenæus stopped short in his way from Asia, at Chalcis in Eubœa, with about 2000 infantry, to guard that important post. Eumenes and Attalus joined the forces of Licinius with 4000 foot and 1000 horse. Contingents also arrived from the Achæans, Etolians, and several states of Thessaly, which did not, however, collectively amount to the number of men furnished singly by Pergamus.

The Romans defeated near Larissa. Olymp. clii. 2. B. C. 171.

To provoke the enemy to battle, Perseus extended his ravages twenty miles southward to Pheræ. The territory of this allied city being abandoned to its fate, the tame inactivity of the Romans increased the king's courage. With a party of light troops, he proceeded to attack

[28] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 51—54.

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their advanced posts; and, having succeeded in a bold skirmish, obliged them to draw their whole forces within their camp. For several succeeding days, he advanced to their entrenchments, thinking to provoke their cavalry and light infantry to sally. The Romans, however, kept within their ramparts; and as part of the road between the two camps was so deficient in good water, that Perseus was obliged to fetch this heavy article from Sycurium, he determined to move his camp within five miles of the enemy, to avoid the repetition of fatiguing excursions in the heat of summer, through a parched country involved in clouds of dust. This movement, which escaped the observation of the Romans, enabled him to advance unperceived, next day at early dawn, within five hundred paces of their camp. An alarm was given from the gates: the Romans flew to arms: their horse and light infantry sallied from their intrenchments. An action ensued, in which all the light troops and cavalry on both sides were engaged, and which ended decidedly in favour of Perseus. The Romans were repelled with the loss of 2400 men[29]; and the battle would have been fatal to the whole of their cavalry, had not Eumenes and the Thessalians, with equal skill and valour, sustained the desultory fury of the Thracians, and afforded protection to their flying friends within their own regular and still threatening

[29] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 59. Plutarch makes the loss greater; 2500 of the consul's best troops, and 600 prisoners. Plut. in Paul. Emil.

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ranks. Upon observing the retreat of the enemy's cavalry, Leonnatus and Hippias seasonably advanced with the phalanx, and exhorted the king to second his good fortune by immediately assaulting the Roman camp. The campaign might have ended with success in this promising enterprise, when Evander the Cretan, the same man who was accused of way-laying Eumenes and attempting to destroy him in his journey to Delphi, interposed his pestilent counsel. The crafty Cretan well knew his master, and probably read in his countenance some disinclination to the bold measure proposed to him. He therefore conjured him, not to lose the fruits of his victory by an attempt to make it greater. That the battle, which he had already won, would either procure for him an immediate peace, or gain for him so many new allies, that he would be enabled to prosecute the war with little danger. Conformably with this advice, Perseus checked the ardour of his troops in the moment of victory; and his conduct appeared next day equally imprudent and pusillanimous, even in his own eyes, when he found that the Romans, fearful of being attacked, had availed themselves of the intervening night to remove beyond the Peneus.[30] This timidity in the enemy, concurring with symptoms of alienation in Greek cities hitherto most zealous in the cause of Rome, flattered Perseus with the hope of renewing his negociations with better success than formerly.

The Macedonians hindered by the king from prosecuting their success.

[30] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 57—60.

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In useless overtures for peace, and in a petty war of outposts and foraging parties on both sides the Peneus, a considerable time elapsed without any action of importance, until the Romans took post at Phalanna, on the northern bank of the river, and the enemy encamped nearly opposite to them at Mopsium.[31]

New advantages on the side of the Macedonians. Olymp. clii. 2. B. C. 171.

In this situation, Perseus learned from deserters that the Romans, entirely unguarded, had spread widely to reap the surrounding fields. He quickly passed the Peneus with about three thousand cavalry, intermixed with some light troops, ordering his heavy infantry to follow with all convenient speed. To the disgrace of the consul's vigilance, the reapers were surprised, and pursued with great slaughter; a thousand carts laden with corn, and above six hundred prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy. Not contented with this advantage, Perseus dispatched to his camp the corn and prisoners, under a guard of three hundred Cretans, recalled his men from pursuing the reapers, and determined to attack their nearest station, guarded by eight hundred Romans under Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune. Pompey, perceiving his design, had just time to quit a post, which he judged to be untenable, and to occupy a neighbouring eminence, which the advantage of the ground, he hoped, would enable him to defend. The place being difficult of access, was assailed by missile weapons, and particularly by those of a kind

[31] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 65.

first employed by the Macedonians in the present war, and named from a compound denoting the dart and sling, whose powers the *cestrosphendoné* united. The Romans formed themselves into a close body, with thickly compacted shields, the better to resist this deadly instrument; but the Macedonians compelled them again to divide, by threatening on all sides to climb the eminence. In opposing these separate attacks, the besieged suffered dreadfully from the sharpness of darts discharged with unusual force, and were on the point of being totally destroyed, when the consul brought to their relief, besides his own light infantry and horse, about two thousand Numidians, who had recently joined his standard. Perseus endeavoured to withstand this new enemy, sending orders at the same time for his phalanx to advance to his aid with all expedition.

Rendered unavailing by an accident.

The phalanx hastened to join him, but in passing the narrow defiles leading from the northern bank of the Peneus, met, under the Cretan escort above mentioned, the train of loaded carts and Roman prisoners.[32] The roads being thus interrupted, a dreadful confusion ensued; the prisoners were put to death, and the carts with their yoked horses were precipitated from the heights on either side to make way for the soldiers. This tumult had scarcely ended, when a new obstacle appeared, Perseus with his flying cavalry. It became necessary for the foot as

[32] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 66.

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Both armies go into winter quarters.

well as horse to give way; and such was the trepidation of their retreat, that, had the Romans ventured to pursue them, they might have obtained a complete victory. The hostile armies returned to their respective camps; and, as winter was fast approaching, Perseus, after throwing a strong garrison into Gonni, thought it adviseable to move towards Macedon. The consul also prepared for quartering his troops during winter in Thessaly and Bœotia, of which latter province, as well as of the neighbouring isle of Eubœa, the fleet, under the pretor Lucretius, had nearly effected the conquest. At sea, the Romans were completely masters: their fleet had been joined at Chalcis by two Carthaginian quinqueremes; by two triremes from Heraclæa in Pontus; by four triremes from Chalcedon and Samos respectively; and by five Rhodian quadriremes. But, as their own navy more than sufficed for all the work to be done, the zeal of their allies was thanked, and their services were dispensed with.[33]

Misbehaviour of the Romans to their allies. Olymp. clii. 3. B. C. 170.

The issue of the campaign, however, had nowise corresponded to the high hopes with which it was undertaken. The Romans obtained not any advantages worthy of their mighty preparations; their victories had been balanced by still greater defeats; and the evils done to their enemies were far surpassed by the injuries which they inflicted on their allies. In the inactivity of their winter quarters especially,

[33] Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 56.

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the commanders by sea and land tarnished the honour of their country by innumerable acts of pride, avarice, and cruelty. Their unworthiness was no secret at Rome, and successors to them were appointed. The consul Aulus Hostilius was sent to take the command of the army; the fleet was committed to Hortensius. These new commanders proved equally inefficient with their predecessors. Hostilius could not penetrate within the rugged frontiers of Macedon; and Hortensius, active only in mischief, aggravated the extortions and insults long and loudly blamed. Before their command expired, the senate was crowded with deputies from many maritime commonwealths on the coasts of Europe and Asia. These embassies came either from places which had not yet experienced the tyranny of Rome, or from those actually smarting under its lash. The cities of Athens, Miletus, Alabanda, and Lampsacus spoke the language of allies to great and generous protectors, and wished only to know in what way their resources might be employed most usefully against Perseus, the common enemy. But Coronæa in Bœotia, Abdera in Thrace, above all, Chalcis in Eubœa, sent to demand vengeance. The calamities of the last named city were expressed by Mictio, who came to the senate-house in a litter, being disabled in his limbs. He said, "that the use of his tongue only was left him to bewail the sufferings of his country, first under Lucretius, and now under Hortensius. That the cities Ænos, Maronæa, Amphipolis, and others, which

The new commanders, Hostilius and Hortensius unsuccessful.

Complaints against them and Lucretius, late commander of the Roman fleet.

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shut their gates against the Romans, flourished in wealth and peace; but that Chalcis, which had received them as friends, had been beggared and enslaved. That the ornaments even of its temples had been sent to embellish the villas of Italy. That, instead of keeping on shipboard as it was their duty, the crews of the Roman fleets were continually on shore, during summer as well as winter. That profligate sailors, alike careless of what they did and what they said, lived in free quarters among the wives and children of the insulted Chalcidians." The senate disavowed and reprobated these odious proceedings; sent commissioners to examine into the injuries that had been done; and, as far as possible, to redress them: a fine, to the amount of three thousand pounds, was imposed on Lucretius [34] lately commanding the fleet: his accomplices, it should seem, escaped without punishment.

Perseus's successes in Thrace and Illyricum obstructed by his sordid avarice.

The worthlessness of the Romans, entrusted with command, proved highly beneficial to the affairs of Perseus. His partisans increased in most of the republics of Greece. In Thrace, his ally Cotys, king of the Odrysians, being attacked by some hostile chieftains of that country, Perseus marched to his relief, and enabled him to defeat the Thracians in arms, supported by a considerable body of Pergamenians. On the side of Illyricum he was not less successful. Appius Claudius, who had been sent with eight thousand men into that province

[34] Tit. Liv. l. xliii. c. 4—9.

by the consul Hostilius, fell into a snare laid for him by the citizens of Uscana, a town on the frontiers of Macedon, and lost the greater part of his army. After this disgrace of the Romans, Gentius, the most considerable prince in Illyria, listened readily to the amicable proposals of the king of Macedon. To raise a numerous army of his warlike countrymen, Gentius needed nothing but money, which Perseus could abundantly have supplied[35]; but his avarice trembled to diminish the treasures which his slow economy had collected. Perseus, through his parsimony, not only lost the seasonable aid of the Illyrians, but much alienated his useful ally Cotys; a Thracian, indeed, but not of a Thracian character, since he was a man of real ability in the council as well as in the field; of great sobriety and temperance, alike superior to anger and to pleasure, and endeared to all who knew him by his humanity and clemency.[36]

Calumnies of the Epirot Charops against his countrymen.

The imprudence of the Roman commanders, in listening to false reports, obliged the leading men among the Epirots to seek the protection of Macedon. There was a certain Charops of Epirus, who had formed a close connection with the Romans during their war with Philip; and who, after the termination of that war, sent to Rome a grandson of his own name, that he might be trained to Roman discipline.[37] The

[35] Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 8. Tit. Liv. l. xliii. c. 20.
[36] Polybius, l. xxvii. c. 10. [37] Id. l. xxvii. c. 13.

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younger Charops obtained the countenance of many powerful patricians; and, on his return to Epirus, being a man of a light head and a depraved heart, never ceased to traduce to his foreign friends the best and worthiest of his countrymen. Under Licinius Crassus, the first consul sent against Perseus, many persons of distinction, whom Charops had known in Rome, were employed in subordinate commands. His calumnies, therefore, began to operate with great efficacy. The Romans talked of sending as hostages into Italy several suspected persons, particularly Cephalo, an Epirot of great worth, and deservedly the most popular man in the whole country. They had recently, on similar accusations, required several Etolians to be surrendered to them. Cephalo, while it was yet time, had recourse to Perseus, and prevailed with all who acted with him in the republic, to throw themselves into the arms of that prince. The alliance, however, was concealed with due caution; so that the consul Hostilius, who succeeded to Licinius, had begun to pass through Epirus, when he was admonished by the party adverse to Cephalo of the danger attending that measure.[38]

New commanders, Marcius Philippus, and Marcius Figulus.

Amidst the loss of armies and the defection of allies, the Romans began to look out for a new commander to conduct the war against Macedon; and, as if they had thought that the same man who had over-reached Perseus

[38] Polyb. l. xxvii. c. 15.

in negociation, was also the likeliest to conquer him in war, they made choice of Quintius Marcius Philippus. This new consul joined the army in Thessaly; his coadjutor, the pretor Marcius Figulus, took the command of the fleet at Chalcis. They brought with them new levies to the amount of 6000 Roman infantry, and an equal number of Italian allies. The cavalry, accompanying both divisions collectively, did not exceed 450. It was concerted between the commanders by land and sea, that, while the consul Marcius Philippus broke into the nearest province of Macedon on the side of Thessaly, the pretor Marcius Figulus should direct the exertions of his fleet against the sea-coasts of that kingdom; which, being indented by the two great bays of Therma and Strymon, infolding, as it were in their arms, the two lesser ones of Singus and Torona, extended above three hundred miles from Pella to Philippi, and contained much valuable territory and many flourishing cities. The ardour of preparation, and the enterprising character of the consul, who, though he had passed his sixtieth year, and had to contend with an unwieldly corpulency, displayed all the fire and activity of youth, brought to his camp in Thessaly, among other deputies from Greece, those of the Achæans headed by Polybius the historian, who, in the vigour of manhood[39] thus enjoyed an opportunity of grati-

Olymp. clii. 4. B.C. 169.

Their plan of campaign.

They are joined by Achæan deputies, particularly by Polybius the historian.

[39] Eleven years before this period, he had been named in company with his father Lycortas as ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes.

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fying his curiosity by accompanying the Romans in one of their most memorable expeditions. The province of Pieria, into which they had to penetrate, was divided from Thessaly by a broad belt of highlands extending inland from the Thermaic gulph, and affording, in the length of about forty miles, only three practicable passes. The western passage, remotest from the coast, led across the Cambunian mountains, and had been vainly attempted in the preceding campaign. Another road, frequented by merchants and pilgrims, had been adorned for their security with a temple of Apollo, and thence derived the name of Pythium. The third route was marked, on the side of Thessaly, by the lake Ascuris. It crossed a mountain named, from its eight crests, Octoluphus, one of which was called Eudierus, because, notwithstanding its great elevation, it abounded with sparkling fountains of fine water. Beyond Eudierus there stood a still higher mountain, from which there was an abrupt descent of seven miles, to a narrow and intricate valley, which led eastward to the forest named Callipeucé, and well entitled to this appellation from its verdant canopy of beautiful pines. From Calli-

The passes from Thessaly into Macedon.

But this commission was conferred on him by particular favour in his twenty-third year, and eight years before the age required by law for the exercise of high political or military functions. In his thirty-fourth year, being commander of horse in Achaia, he was sent ambassador to the consul Marcius. Conf. Polyb. l. xxv. c. 7. & l. xxviii. c. 6. 10, 11.

peucé you proceeded to the open plains, between Lebethra and Heracleum, at the foot of mount Olympus, and only twelve miles from the Macedonian city Dium, near to which Perseus had pitched his camp. The consul preferred the road by Octoluphus; a rude ascent of twenty miles, a more abrupt descent of seven, and, from thence a perplexed passage of twenty-five, to the plain adjacent to Heracleum. In this undertaking, he must lay his account with combating at once the difficulties of the country, and the powerful opposition that would be made to him by the enemy. Perseus had stationed 10,000 men to guard the passes of the Cambunian mountains; he had posted a still greater number in the route by Octoluphus. The neighbourhood of his camp, it might be suspected, would enable him to send timely reinforcements, whichever way the Romans might attempt to penetrate.[40] The consul began his expedition by sending 4000 light troops, commanded by his own son Q. Marcius and by M. Claudius, that, by occupying posts on the way, they might provide for the safe progress of the army. He followed with his whole cavalry and infantry; and with twenty-two African elephants. The first part of the road was so difficult, that the light troops under young Marcius scarcely advanced, in two days, fifteen miles to Eudierus. They encamped around its refreshing fountains; and proceeded,

The consul prefers the route by Octoluphus.

[40] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 2. et seq.

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on the following day, to the higher hill beyond it, which they occupied in sight of 12,000 Macedonians posted in that neighbourhood. From thence they sent messengers to the consul on his way from the lake Ascuris. He arrived, and encamped on the eminence already seized, from which he could behold not only the enemy's post about a mile distant, but their larger camp near Dium, with the adjoining sea-coast, the river Helicon, and the green valley of Pieria, celebrated by poets as the cradle of the Muses.[41] The sight fired his soldiers with delight; they grasped already in fancy the rich spoils of Macedon, and their impatience scarcely allowed them a day's halt to recover the fatigues of their march.

Views from the hill of Eudierus the enemy's encampment.

On the two following days, there happened only desultory skirmishes of light troops; for the nature of the ground admitted not of regular combat. The Romans had overcome great difficulties, but they had still greater to surmount. They had indeed carried with them food for many days, but the state of their affairs required them to advance speedily; a thing of much danger, had Perseus been an able general. That prince either vainly paraded along the sea-coast with his cavalry, or remained inactive in his camp at Dium, while Marcius, a large and heavy old man, scaled steep mountains, and prepared for abrupt descents through paths unexplored, and which, had they been known,

Difficulties of passing Octolophus, particularly with elephants — how obviated.

[41] Plin. l. iv. c. 10.

would only have appeared the more frightful. Having left a detachment under the tribune Popilius, on the eminence first seized, to keep the enemy in play, he sent forward Attalus of Pergamus, and Misagenes the Numidian, at the head of their respective countrymen. They were followed in the woody and concealed paths by the Roman cavalry and baggage. The legions formed the rear. In the first four miles there was much confusion and loss among the beasts of burden. The elephants, above all, greatly increased the disorder. When they met with any unexpected obstacles, they attempted to throw their riders; and their fierce roaring occasioned great terror among the horses. To enable them to descend safely, a method was contrived for lessening the steepness. Platforms of stout planks, projecting from the upper rocks, were propped by strong beams rising from those below. These platforms, having only a moderate inclination, were extended in succession down the shelving sides of the declivity, and served as a chain of bridges, each of which was about thirty feet long; the elephants being brought from the end of the upper bridge to the beginning of that beneath it, by slowly removing the beams on which the former was supported. Through this contrivance, the army advanced in the day-time seven miles, the soldiers making more use of their hands than of their feet, and often rolling themselves down with their armour; so that in this disordered state, even the guides, who had undertaken to

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lead the way, dreaded any opposition from Perseus, as big with ruin. At night they found themselves in the bottom of a hollow valley, on which firm resting-place they waited next day, until they should be joined by the detachment left under Popilius, since, in the impossibility to return by the ground which they had descended, the possession of the height which he occupied was no longer necessary to them. The next morning, they crossed with united forces the forest of Callipeucé; and, on the following day, penetrated to the plains between Libethra and Heracleum, only a few miles from the sea-coast, without beholding an enemy.[49]

Strange panic of Perseus—his absurd orders.

Perseus was indulging in the warm bath, when news arrived that the Romans had crossed the mountains. He sprang, frantic, from his seat, exclaiming, that he had been betrayed by the generals whom he had sent to guard the passes, and that his kingdom was conquered without a battle. In the first paroxysm of rage and phrenzy, he gave orders for retreating to Pydna, twenty miles north of Dium, without forgetting, in the midst of his trepidation, to command the removal, from the latter city, of the twenty-five equestrian statues, erected in honour of Alexander's companions, and which, it should seem, had been carefully repaired since the desolating irruption of the Etolians. At the same time he dispatched two of his friends, Nicias and Andronicus, that the former might

[49] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 5.

cause his vast treasures at Pella, amounting to nearly five millions sterling, to be buried in the sea, and that the latter might destroy by fire the ships and arsenals at Thessalonica.[43] His panic, however, was altogether unreasonable; for Heracleum shut its gates against the Romans; and the adjacent plain, on which they encamped, was accessible on the side of Thessaly, only by the narrow valley of Tempé; and led into Macedon only by the difficult defile of Dium. Had Perseus occupied that strong city, which, with its lake and temple, filled almost the whole space between mount Olympus and the sea, and been careful to support his posts in the gorges of Tempé, the Romans must have been cooped up in a country ill calculated to supply their wants, or compelled to extricate themselves from their uneasy situation by fighting to much disadvantage. But the madness of Perseus, who recalled his garrisons from Tempé, as well as all his other detachments, and fled northwards from Dium to Pydna, relieved the invaders from this distressing alternative.

March and counter-march of the Romans.

The consul immediately sent orders to the lieutenant left behind him in Thessaly, to secure his communications on that side by seizing the passes which the Macedonians had abandoned; and after taking proper precautions for exploring the road, proceeded in two marches to Dium. He encamped in the vicinity of Jupiter's temple, the more surely to guard that holy place

[43] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 6.

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from violation. Having entered Dium, he was surprised to find, in a town of inconsiderable magnitude, so many ornamental edifices, and such a profusion of works of art. At sight of these riches, he could scarcely persuade himself that Perseus's flight did not conceal some ambush. But careful examination showed all to be safe; so that leaving the maritime cities Pydna and Methoné on his right, he advanced in the direct line to Pella. Having proceeded two days on his march, he began to suffer from scarcity of provisions; and the farther he removed from Thessaly, he doubted not but his difficulties, in that point, would increase. To whatever reproaches his retreat might be exposed, it seemed necessary to return southward. In this direction he passed beyond Dium, five miles, to Phyla, where he found corn and other necessaries provided in abundance by Lucretius, the officer whom he had ordered to occupy the valley of Tempé.

Perseus encamps between Dium and Phyla.

The sudden retreat of the Romans brought back Perseus to his senses. Having collected his forces at Pydna, he returned towards Dium, and fortified a camp between the latter place and Phyla, on the northern bank of the Enipeus; a scanty rivulet in summer, but in winter a fierce torrent, rolling in a deep rocky channel, from mount Olympus to the Thermaic gulph. In this situation he hoped to defend the frontier of Pieria, until the advancing season obliged the enemy to go into quarters in Thessaly.

The walls of Hera-

Meanwhile the consul had sent a detachment

under Popilius to take possession of Heracleum. The place was situate five miles south of Phyla, and nearly midway between Dium and Tempé. Popilius summoned it to surrender. But the inhabitants trusted to the strength of their city built on a rock, overhanging the river Sus. The siege afforded nothing memorable, except that the wall was taken, as in sport, by some Roman youths, through a contrivance which they had learned from the games of the circus. In the intervals of the horse and chariot races, which properly constituted these entertainments, it had been usual, among other martial pastimes, for parties of about sixty armed youths, to throw themselves into a figure resembling the roof of a house. The middle ranks stood upright, each man covering his head with his shield; the ranks which followed on either hand gradually stooped lower and lower, until the outermost rested on their knees. In this manner, the shields of the several ranks, descending successively below each other, composed a firm and solid fabric, upon which combatants, mounting on either side, sometimes skirmished with each other, on the middle of the edifice, and, sometimes flourishing their weapons, made a show of defending its extremities, or of annoying an enemy from this vantage ground. Such was the mode of assault employed against Heracleum, only that the outward men, instead of raising their shields on high, projected them for safety, as in real battle.[44]

Heracleum taken by a contrivance learned from the games of the circus.

[44] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 1.

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The Romans and Eumenes unsuccessful on the sea-coast.

With the capture of Heracleum, the campaign of the consul Marcius closed. He encamped in its neighbourhood, and prepared for winter, by making choice of fit places for granaries, and by sending part of his soldiers to repair the roads on the side of Thessaly, and to raise buildings, at convenient distances, for lodging the carriers and cattle employed in the conveyance of provisions from that quarter. During the operations of the Roman army in Pieria, the fleet under Marcius Figulus had waged a fruitless war against the enemy's sea-coast. Thessalonica, Antigonia, Cassandria, and Demetrias, cities, all of which bore the names of founders illustrious in the present history, were successively attacked with more loss on the side of the assailants, than on that of the defenders. King Eumenes shared the mortification of these unprofitable expeditions; and abruptly sailed towards Pergamus, not a little disgusted with the Roman commanders, both by sea and land. The fleet under Figulus, much weakened in numbers, returned to Oreum in Eubœa, or the neighbouring isle of Sciathus.[45]

Appius Claudius equally unfortunate in Illyricum.

In another scene of the war, affairs were not more prosperous. The Illyrian army, commanded by the pretor Appius Claudius, had suffered a severe defeat under the walls of Uscana: a defeat gratifying to the mean jealousy of Marcius, who wished not that the pretor's victories should upbraid ill-success in the consul.[46] But the principal effect of this cam-

[45] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 13.

[46] Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 11.

paign had been to expose the strange levity of Perseus. When he recovered from his cowardly phrenzy, he countermanded the orders, which he had given to Andronicus, for burning his arsenal at Thessalonica; an absurd commission, which that prudent friend had delayed to execute. At the same time he sent word to Pella, to fish his treasures from the sea, into which he had ordered them to be thrown. Nicias, to whom that strange office was entrusted, had complied, indeed, with the letter of his first orders. The buried wealth of Perseus, however, was again recovered by expert divers; but such was the tyrant's cruelty, that, in the vain hope of obliterating his own shame, all the persons concerned in the transaction, Andronicus, Nicias, nay the unhappy divers, were destined to fall victims to those secret arts of destruction, in which he was an adept.[47]

Perseus's folly and cruelty.

The consul Marcius had no sooner established his winter quarters, than he sent an account of his proceedings to Rome, and requested that he might be seasonably supplied with men, corn, cloathing, above all, Numidian cavalry. About the same time, the ambassadors from Prusias of Bithynia, and the commonwealth of Rhodes, demanded audiences in the senate house. Prusias, as brother-in-law to Perseus, sued warmly for his pardon. The Rhodians complained, that during the three years, in which war had been carried on against Macedon, they had suffered a

The consul Marcius requests supplies.

Interposition in favour of Perseus, by Prusias and the Rhodians.

47. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 10.

severe interruption in all commerce, even in that of grain necessary for their subsistence, and a great decay in their port duties and other revenues. They said, that ambassadors had also been sent by their republic to Perseus, to bring that prince to reasonable terms of accommodation: and that, whichever of the belligerent powers persevered in prosecuting the war, the Rhodians would be under the necessity of regarding its obstinacy as hostile to the best interests of their own island. To this haughty language, altogether unwarantable in so small a state, the senate answered by declaring the freedom of the Carians and Lycians; a resolution, also, was adopted, for immediately communicating the decree to this effect to these two nations, then subject to the Rhodians.[48]

Emilius consul, with Macedon for his province — his character. Olymp. cliii.1. B.C. 168.

The remonstrances of allies against the war, and three consular armies successively baffled in the prosecution of it, made the Romans peculiarly anxious about the appointment of a new general. The decision by lot seconded their wishes: it fell on Lucius Emilius Paulus, whose father, of the same name, had signalised at Cannæ his prudent foresight and high heroic valour. The son of this illustrious Roman inherited his sagacity and magnanimity, but had passed his sixtieth year, without enjoying a fit theatre for the exhibition of his virtues. While the Scipios combated Antiochus the Great in Asia, Emilius was employed, as pretor, in

[48] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 14. et seq.

quelling obscure rebellions in Spain. Thirteen years before he assumed the command against Perseus, he had, in his first consulship, broken the power of the Ligurians, obstinate but ignoble adversaries. From this time forward, the changed manners of Rome, in consequence of her eastern victories, interrupted the public honours of Emilius, who amidst shameless examples of rapacity and venality, preserved the honesty, economy, and scorn for ill-gotten wealth, which distinguished the best ages of the republic. During his long retirement, he lived remote in the country, wholly dedicated to the education of two sons worthy of his care, since the elder, being taken into the family of Fabius Maximus, and the younger, into that of Scipio Africanus, both became ornaments to the illustrious houses into which they had respectively been adopted.[49]

Commissioners sent at his desire to examine the state of the war — their report.

Upon entering on his office of consul, Emilius moved the senate to send commissioners across the Hadriatic, to learn the real state of affairs. The commissioners returned with the utmost dispatch, and reported, that nothing had been done against the enemy, sufficient to compensate the sufferings of the Romans in passing Octoluphus. The smallest impression had not yet been made on the frontier province of Pieria; where Perseus was strongly encamped on the river Enipeus, bidding defiance to the consul on its opposite bank. Great benefit might have

[49] Plutarch. in Paul. Emil.

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resulted from a diversion on the side of Illyricum; but Appius Claudius, who commanded there, was himself in imminent danger. The operations of the fleet had been equally unsuccessful: many sailors had perished by disease; many had returned home, particularly those belonging to Sicily. The fleet of Eumenes seemed to move at the will of the capricious winds, and had finally departed; although his brother Attalus still remained steady to the Romans, and had on every occasion signalised his zeal for their interest.[50]

Reinforcements prepared by the Romans.

This intelligence had a tendency to hasten and augment preparations. It was decreed by the senate, that four legions should be raised with a proportional number of allies. Two legions were destined to serve in Illyricum, under the pretor Lucius Anicius, appointed to supercede Appius Claudius; and enjoined, when affairs permitted him, to co-operate with the consul, in Macedon, by an invasion of its Illyrian frontier. A reinforcement of five thousand sailors was voted to the pretor Cneius Octavius, named to command the fleet instead of Marcius Figulus. Thirty thousand new levies were thus speedily assembled at Brundusium, and prepared to embark in the transports ready to receive them.

Emilius's speech to the centuries at parting.

At his departure from Rome, to take the command of his legions, Emilius assembled the centuries, and addressed them to the following pur-

[50] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 20.

pose. "Your congratulations with me have been excited, fellow citizens! not by my elevation to the consulship, but, as I perceive clearly, by the attainment of Macedon for my province; doubtless, because you expect that, through my means, this arduous war will be brought to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. Providence, I trust, over-ruled the lots by which this momentous business devolved on me; and the gods, I hope, will prosper my designs, and complete their own work. These, however, are matters of opinion; but one thing I affirm with confidence, that every exertion shall be made on my part to deserve glorious success. You may rely with full assurance on the truth of whatever I shall *write* to you, or to the senate; on which account it will become you to hold in contempt all such unwarranted rumours as have been spread in the present war more than in any other. In every circle, and almost at every table, there are persons ready to explain how armies should be led into Macedon; where camps should be pitched, magazines established, posts occupied; on what occasions it will be proper to fight, and when to decline an engagement. Not contented with expatiating on their own infallible plans, they arraign the commanders who deviate from them, as on a day of trial. Such proceedings can have no other tendency but to perplex, damp, and dispirit those entrusted with your armies, for there are few men proof against the assaults of popular obloquy; and who, like the great Fabius, will

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endure to have their actions vilified through idle and ignorant loquacity, without making attempts to recover or maintain their own fame, even with serious danger to your affairs. If there are any here present, who think themselves qualified to assist me by their counsel, let them not refuse to accompany me into Macedon. They shall be supplied with ships, horses, tents; and their travelling charges shall be defrayed. But if they decline this offer, let them cease directing from the city, the concerns of the camp, and controuling from shore the navigation of a vessel, in which their own slothful cowardice only hindered them from embarking." Shortly after holding this assembly, the consul left Rome with a retinue unusually numerous, and towards the beginning of April set sail from Brundusium.[51]

Perseus's sordid negociations with the Illyrians and Bastarnæ.

During the suspension of military operations, occasioned by a severe winter, Perseus had been busy in negociation with such neighbouring powers as either jealousy of the Romans, or his own immense treasures were likely to engage in his interest. He promised to Gentius the Illyrian three hundred talents; but ten talents only had been forwarded to Scodra, a city twenty miles from the sea, and the capital of that credulous barbarian, who, being of a mind naturally weak and impaired by habitual drunkenness, no sooner received this small sum by way of earnest, than he threw into prison Perperna and Petillius,

[51] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 22. Conf. Plutarch. in Emil.

two Romans just sent to him as ambassadors. The remainder of the promised bribe was on its way to Scodra; but Perseus had taken the precaution to desire those who escorted it to travel slowly, and to wait orders on the frontier. Upon the intelligence that Gentius had violated characters held sacred, and thereby provoked the Romans beyond remission, the money was arrested in its progress, and the bags containing it, though sealed up by Gentius's agent with the signet of that prince, were conveyed back to the treasury of Pella. Notwithstanding this disgraceful transaction, which could neither be concealed nor palliated, Perseus availed himself of his treaty with an ally whom he had so grossly deluded, to promote his interests with the Rhodians. Gentius had sent to him two Illyrians, who, upon seeing the money safely sealed up, and dispatched to their master, had orders to join Macedonian ambassadors already commissioned to Rhodes, and to forward all their views. The union of the two kings increased the confidence of the Rhodians in their own importance as mediators of a general peace: they declared publicly their resolution to effect this purpose either by persuasion or by arms. In his transactions with Eumenes and the Bastarnæ, Perseus might have been still more successful, had not a sordid avarice marred his projects. With the Bastarnæ under Clondicus and other chieftains, he had renewed the alliance contracted by his father Philip; and a great body of these barbarians, chiefly cavalry, had advanced to the Ma- CHAP. XXII.

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cedonian province of Medica, on the frontier of Thrace, to sell to him their assistance. The price was to be ten pieces of gold for every horseman; five for every foot soldier; and a thousand for each of the leaders. The sum would have been considerable, since the number of the Bastarnæ exceeded 20,000; but no purchase-money could have been too dear, in time of need, for such powerful auxiliaries. Perseus lost their co-operation by sending to them in Medica flattering messages instead of money, without which the Bastarnæ declared that they would not advance a step farther. They did not revenge themselves on his ambassadors who had been instrumental in deceiving them, nor retaliate, for the king's dishonesty, on his helpless subjects, but taking the road homeward through Thrace, lived at free quarters on their way.[52]

Secret negociation between him and Eumenes fruitless.

Notwithstanding the personal animosity between Perseus and Eumenes, strong causes concurred to unite their interests. Eumenes, as we have seen, had been alienated from the Romans, in consequence of their change of maxims, and begun to perceive that the same power which had raised Pergamus to splendour, was the likeliest, under new circumstances, to replunge it in obscurity. He wished to have Macedon for a bulwark between himself and those jealous allies, whom any slight cause of disgust

[52] Plutarch. in Emil. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 26, 27. Appian. Macedon. p. 533.

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might convert into merciless enemies. The Romans, he thought, were weary of a tedious and unsuccessful war; and Perseus, he well knew, had, from the beginning, desired peace. This therefore was the great end at which he aimed, and for effecting which he entered, on pretence of exchange of prisoners, into a secret correspondence with the king of Macedon. Their negociation was carefully concealed; but being conducted on both sides by Cretans, the ordinary agents in such secret intrigues, it was whispered that Eumenes had promised to withhold farther assistance from the Romans on the payment of a thousand talents; and that he had undertaken, upon receiving five hundred talents more, either to procure peace for Perseus, or to join him in the war. Whatever may have been in this report, the dishonesty and vileness of Perseus, defeated the negociation.[53]

He obtains no assistance from the other Greek kings of the East — their situation at that time.

This sordid prince could not expect to meet with better success in his applications to the kings of Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt. Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia was father-in-law to Eumenes, through whose good offices he had obtained reconciliation with the Romans, after the part which he had taken against them in their war with Antiochus the Great. Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria was engaged in projects, as will appear hereafter, altogether incompatible with any exertions in favour of the king of Ma-

[53] Appian. Macedon. c. xvi. p. 533. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 25, 26. Polyb. l. xxix. c. 3. l. xxx. c. 1.

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cedon. Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt had recently attained his fourteenth year, the age of majority in that kingdom, and upon the death of his mother Cleopatra, hitherto regent, had been solemnly enthroned at Alexandria, and begun to administer the government in his own name. But his counsels were guided by Eulæus a eunuch, and by Lennæus a man without spirit. Instead of improving his domestic force, and the resources which might have nourished it, these ministers exhorted him to confide in the arms of Rome, his hereditary protector.[54]

Successes of the Macedonians by sea. Olymp. cliii. 1. B.C. 168.

Disappointed of allies, partly through his own niggardliness, and partly through the strange want of precautionary policy among the Greek kings of the East, Perseus was under the necessity of exerting his single strength against a far superior enemy. Before the Roman reinforcements arrived in the spring under Emilius and Octavius, he fitted out from Cassandria about fifty vessels, of the long piratical form, well armed and stoutly manned, with orders to scour the Ægean sea, and by every means to annoy the Romans and those inclined to succour them. This armament was entrusted to Antenor and Calippus, commanders of skill and enterprise. By establishing signal posts on mount Athos and other towering promontories or rocky islands, they gained speedy intelligence of the course necessary to be pursued, either for pro-

[54] Diodorus Siuclus Excerpt. de Virtut. p. 579. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2.

tecting their own trade or for destroying the transports of the enemy. Having steered for Tenedos, they relieved a large fleet of their own merchantmen which had been blocked up there, by a Pergamenian squadron. From thence they directed their course to Chios, where they found thirty-five vessels, deriving the name of *Hippagogues* from their use in transporting horses. They contained a body of Gallic cavalry, which had been sent to join Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, still encamped with the Romans near the southern bank of the Enipeus. The Pergamenian captains had not the smallest suspicion of falling in with an enemy. They believed the Macedonian ships of war, when descried at a distance, to be Roman or Pergamenian; "perhaps Attalus himself was on board, or they were vessels containing troops whom that prince had thought fit to send home from the Roman camp." But the singular shape of the vessels, the briskness of their rowing, and their prows properly prepared for combat, left no room to doubt of their hostile intention. The Hippagogues fled in consternation, for they were awkward vessels, and the Gauls on board them could not endure the sea, much less be induced to fight on it. Part of them escaped to the friendly shore of Erythræ; several suffered shipwreck on the opposite coast of Chios; and careless of their horses, the Gauls made all haste to the city of that name. The Macedonians landed and pursued them; and the Chians having shut their gates, eight hundred Gauls were slain, and two hundred taken; the

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horses were either drowned or hamstrung; not more than twenty of remarkable beauty were transported, together with the prisoners, to the harbour of Thessalonica.[55] The Macedonians then sailed to the Cyclades, and were successful in taking or sinking many of the enemy's ships among those islands. But the central and sacred Delos was the region of eternal peace. This privileged spot, distinguished for fairs and festivals, and in which, as we shall have occasion to explain, ten thousand slaves were frequently brought to market in a single day[56], afforded its equal and inviolate protection to the Romans, Pergamenians, and Macedonians. The three nations assembled promiscuously in its temple, without entertaining the smallest distrust of each other.

Inviolability of Delos — an asylum to all parties.

Gentius the Illyrian made captive with his family. Olymp. cliii. 1. B.C. 168.

Meanwhile the consul Emilius crossed the Hadriatic with his coadjutors Octavius and Anicius. Operations began in Illyricum, where Anicius arrived in time with his reinforcements to save the unfortunate army under Appius Claudius, and to protect the faithful cities Epidamnus and Apollonia. Gentius, the fiercest enemy in that quarter, had followed up his traitorous blow struck at the Roman ambassadors, by marching southward, at the head of fifteen thousand men, into the territory of their confederates, while eighty of his long boats were sent to ravage the adjacent coasts. Anicius first defeated him at sea, and took many of his

55 Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 28.

56 Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668.

vessels. Having then joined to his own army the remains of that under Appius, still encamped on the river Genusus, midway between Apollonia and Epidamnus, he drove the invaders from that neighbourhood, and pursued them northwards to Scodra, sixty miles distant from Epidamnus. Scodra was the capital and main strong-hold of Gentius. It derived its name from mount Scodrus[57], the highest in that region, and which views from its top the coast of Illyricum on the west, the barbarous Dardanians on the east, and the inland provinces of Macedon on the south. The river Oriuns, flowing from this mountain into the Hadriatic, is joined by the Clausula and Barbana, tributary streams, which almost surrounded the city Scodra, and greatly added to its means of defence. Had Gentius, who occupied this post with the main strength of his nation, remained patiently within his walls, he might have long defied the arms of Anicius, who prepared to besiege him. But the frantic Barbarian, whose natural ferocity was often inflamed by wine into madness[58], presumptuously opened his gates, and marched forth to oppose the Romans on equal ground. He was totally defeated: his capital surrendered; and Gentius, to save a life which he had forfeited by violating the laws of nations, threw himself with tears and prayers at the pretor's feet. Anicius raised him from the ground, and even admitted him to his table;

[57] Or Scordus.

[58] Polybius, l. xxix. c. 5.

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but next day consigned him as prisoner to the tribune Caius Cassius: a strange example of royalty precipitated into the lowest misery for a bribe of ten talents, then the ordinary hire of a Roman prize-fighter.[59]

The first care of the pretor was to recover the persons of the ambassadors Perperna and Petillius. Having restored them to the splendour becoming their public characters, Anicius soon afterwards employed their services for getting into his hands the friends and family of Gentius. His queen Etuta,, a princess of Dardania, with his sons Scerdiletes and Pleuratus, and his brother Caravantius, were seized in different lurking places, and conducted to the Roman camp. Shortly afterwards they were embarked for Rome, together with king Gentius, and most of the principal men among the Illyrians. Perperna preceded them, to acquaint the senate with the happy issue of a war, which, before the Romans were apprised of its commencement, had ended in one month, with the taking of the enemy's capital, the seizure of his person, and the reduction of his whole country.[60]

Emilius supplies the army with good wells.

The success in Illyricum prepared the way for still more important events. Perseus having greatly strengthened his works on the Enipeus, posted his light infantry and horse along the sea coast, that wherever the galleys under the pretor Octavius should make descents, they might be resisted with vigour and celerity. Emilius, upon

59 Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 31.

60 Ibid. c. 32.

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his arrival with reinforcements, drew nearer to the southern bank of the Enipeus and to the enemy. The bed of the river was broad, rocky, and interrupted: its banks were intricate and lofty; but with the return of summer, its waters had become so low, that the advancing waves of the sea rendered them brackish and unwholesome. This inconvenience had been felt before Emilius took the command, and much search had been made for fresh water in the neighbourhood. As none had been found, the consul ordered wells to be dug near the sea-shore, not doubting that the lofty mountains which he beheld before him, since they did not pour down any visible streams, discharged their superfluous moisture by concealed subterranean outlets. His expectation was gratified by the discovery of copious sources of pure water.[61]

Salutary changes introduced by him.

Meanwhile the news of Gentius's defeat and captivity tended to discourage the Macedonians; but, upon viewing their camp, Emilius deemed it impregnable, so strong was its position, and so skilfully was it defended by a chain of towers, discharging all sorts of weapons. During the time necessary for adjusting his plan of campaign, the soldiers were kept in motion and spirits by innovations of which they could discern the use, and which, had they been less important in themselves, would have served to create a belief that, with alterations in other points, their fortune also was to change under

[61] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 33.

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a new general. With this view, the word of command was not to be issued as usual with an overstrained inarticulate voice to the whole line, but to be given deliberately and distinctly to the nearest centurions, and by them communicated clearly from one extremity to another: an improvement which seemed the more necessary in an army of relaxed discipline, noisy and tumultuous. The centinels were not allowed, as formerly, to carry with them their shields; their business was not to fight, but to watch; and when they perceived danger, to give alarm seasonably. The advanced guards were also regulated in a new and more convenient manner. Without distinction of climate or season, they had hitherto been compelled to remain all day long with their horses bridled, and encumbered with heavy armour; by which means, they had sometimes, when fatigued, been defeated by enemies of little prowess. Emilius ordered them in future to be relieved regularly at mid-day. As murmurs still prevailed, fomented by pride and conceit, especially among those who had served in the expeditions into Asia, the consul caused his soldiers to assemble, and thus spoke, "In an army, it is the business of a general, and his only, to examine and decide all military matters, either within his own breast, or by the advice of such persons as he thinks fit to consult with: none besides have any right, either openly or secretly, to obtrude their opinions. A soldier's duty before action consists wholly in three points; in exercising

his body so habitually, as to give it the utmost measure of its strength and agility; in keeping his armour in the best order; and in providing store of food, ready to supply him during any service on which he may be sent. For all the rest, he must confide wholly in the gods and his general. From deliberating soldiers nothing but confusion can result."[62] Shortly afterwards, the consul learned from some Thessalian merchants in whom he could confide, that the passage above mentioned by Pythium, which led to the rear of the enemy's camp, was by no means impracticable, and less strongly guarded than its importance required. The Macedonians posted for its defence excelled indeed in the use of missile weapons; but these would avail nothing against the Roman sword, should the attack be made in the night. To mask his design, he ordered part of the fleet to assemble at Heracleum, with provisions for a thousand soldiers for ten days. He then detached from the army five thousand chosen men under his eldest son Fabius, and the young Scipio Nasica, afterwards so illustrious in the senate. They proceeded to Heracleum with the show of embarking there, in order to make descents on the Macedonian coast; but having supplied themselves from the ships with food, they immediately left the sea-shore, and took the road towards Pythium, under guidance of travelling merchants of Thessaly. The march was regu-

He deceives the enemy and gains the approach to his rear.

[62] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 34.

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lated in such a manner that they arrived at Pythium on the third night, when the attack was made, and proved completely successful; for Perseus, during the three intervening days, had been totally occupied by the consul's feints, and in some bloody skirmishes in the bed of the Enipeus. When he learned that part of the enemy threatened to fall on his rear, while a far greater force lay before him, he hastily resolved to decamp, and move northwards about thirty miles to Pydna.[63] The plain before this place, well adapted to the evolutions of the phalanx, seems to have determined him to risk an engagement; a resolution foolish in the extreme, since the numerous cities, both along the coast and in the inland country, most of which had great means of defence, left him an alternative less dangerous to himself, and less favourable to an invading enemy.

Perseus moves to Pydna.

Emilius's address in fortifying a camp before the battle of Pydna.

Emilius, upon intelligence of the king's retreat, hastened across the Enipeus, and being joined by his detachment, which had just descended from the mountains, urged the pursuit with all possible celerity. He found the Macedonians in a posture of defiance, on the plain before Pydna, watered by the rivers Leucas and Æson, which, after uniting their streams within the heart of that city, fall together into the Thermaic gulph, only two miles distant from its walls. The consul might contemn the king's rashness, but he could not despise the formid-

[63] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 25.

able aspect of his army. He had come in sight of it before mid-day; his march had been attended with much fatigue, the heat was already excessive, and increasing every moment. Under these circumstances, the Romans had not any camp or strong-hold, to which, in case of bad fortune, they might retreat for safety. By that martial people the camp was considered as a home; they fought for it with the same zeal as for their hearths and altars: it was their asylum and protection, the source of their comforts and of their hopes, which soothed the soldier's fatigue, poured balm into his wounds, and from which, after repairing the evils of defeat, he often issued to new conflicts and to glorious victory. Notwithstanding these reasons against an immediate action, the ardour of troops who had surmounted many difficulties to gain the opportunity of fighting, which now offered, was to be restrained with caution. To have resisted it directly, would have been the highest imprudence. The consul, therefore, had recourse to a stratagem, by which he at once deceived his own men for their good, and deluded the Macedonians to their ruin. With the utmost eagerness, he arrayed the Romans for battle; rode round their ranks; urged the military tribunes to execute completely and correctly the orders which they had received; and addressed in fit speeches the different divisions of the army. At first, they felt much alacrity to encounter the enemy, and

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expressed it by firm acclamations; but as the day advanced, and the heat became intolerable, their voices lost strength and animation, their countenances fell, and their weary bodies began to repose for support on their shields and spears.[64] Upon perceiving this alteration, Emilius commanded his rear division to begin the work of intrenchment, while his first line remained under arms, ready, as it seemed, to attack the enemy. But having formed a breast work of considerable strength, he drew his whole army behind it, and under protection of the cover which he had thus raised by surprise, completed the fortification of his camp in the usual form. The device pleased his soldiers, who, in their langour of mind and body, were glad that a part of them, by using the spade, should exempt the whole, in its present dispirited state, from the necessity of having recourse to the sword. As Emilius kept his design, till ripe for execution, within his own breast, neither Attalus his faithful ally, nor any of his Roman lieutenants, had the opportunity of interposing with their advice. They had all warmly approved his professed intention of fighting; but, when they perceived the consul's purpose to be altered, no one ventured to remonstrate, except Scipio Nasica, whose eagerness for battle was heightened by the recent and signal success of his detachment. To his instances on this subject, Emilius replied, " such were my senti-

[64] The pila.

ments, when I was of your age; when you attain mine, you will think as I do." Perseus, meanwhile, encamped, vainly elated with his confessed superiority; since the Romans, when a battle was in their power, had evidently declined it.

Eclipse of the moon predicted by Sulpicius Gallus.

But whatever encouragement might thereby result to his men, was done away in the succeeding night. Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune, had, by permission of the consul, addressed the army, and predicted that, in the first watch of the night, the moon would be eclipsed for nearly two hours. He clearly explained the nature and causes of that phenomenon, and assured the soldiers that, as it was a necessary and stated event, they ought not to regard it as a sinister omen, or derive from it any unfavourable prognostic. It cannot be doubted, that the Macedonian camp contained men as well informed as Gallus concerning the heavenly motions. But it also contained many Barbarous allies; above all, ignorant and obstinate Thracians, whose superstitious terrors, easily excited and kept alive, overflowed and damped the whole army. A severe injury to Perseus from a vicious horse, could not fail to heighten the dismay.

Battle of Pydna. Olymp. cliii. 1. B. C. 168.

At day-break, however, both armies had prepared for action. The heavy armed Macedonians were flanked by the targeteers, as these were by the cavalry. Though drawn up in a plain, they could not advance to the enemy without traversing much broken ground. They

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remained therefore on the defensive. But the sun shone bright in the faces of the Romans. Emilius, to avoid fighting under this disadvantage, detained his men by a long speech, in which he explained his reasons for hitherto declining battle, and expatiated on the vast benefits that had resulted from delay. The sacrifices, also, were performed with great slowness and solemnity, and the twenty-first victim was slain before the inspection of the entrails predicted victory to the Romans, provided they waited the enemy's attack. These, and similar contrivances, for rendering superstition auxiliary to prowess, had been so long and so successfully employed, that they were not without influence even on those patricians themselves, who had been their authors. In the present instance, there was not an opportunity to discern their full force; since the battle was brought on undesignedly. A horse escaped from the Roman lines: some Thracians endeavoured to intercept and seize it: a skirmish ensued with the Roman cavalry; and both parties were continually reinforced, until the engagement became general. The first line of the Romans was broken and pursued by the Macedonian phalanx and targeteers, whose bristling spears, as they advanced, filled even Emilius with terror. He is said to have torn his general's robe in despair.[65] But this emotion was transient. Bare-headed, he rode through the ranks, ex-

[65] Plutarch, in Emil.

Misconduct and defeat of Perseus.

horting to a fresh attack. The second division of the Romans, however, must have incurred the same disgrace with the first, had Perseus or his generals done their duty. But, instead of pursuing the fugitives with his cavalry and light troops, and removing impediments in the way of his phalanx, he allowed this body of heavy infantry to advance into the uneven ground, and thus to fluctuate and break in pieces through the unequal exertion of its parts, and the different obstructions which they encountered. Emilius seized the decisive moment for throwing into the openings the maniples of his legions. The Macedonians were thus attacked in flank; their long spears became useless; they had to contend with the Roman sword, better tempered than their own, more ponderous and sharper, and by its form as well as size, of far more bloody execution. In the space of an hour, the battle became a rout, in which twenty thousand Macedonians fell, and eleven thousand were made prisoners [66]; a disaster the severest, both in itself, and in its consequences, that, in the course of so many wars, had yet befallen the patrimonial kingdom of the great Alexander.

Submission of Macedon to Emilius. Olymp. cliii. 1. B.C. 168.

After the loss of his army, Perseus could not expect to find any resource in the bravery and loyalty of his people, to whom his tyranny had been the more intolerable because exercised under a government constitutionally free. [67] The

[66] Plutarch. in Emil. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 42.

[67] See above, vol. i. p. 40.

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Macedonians were in haste to make submission to the conquerors. The various strong-holds of the kingdom opened their gates without requiring the formality of a summons. The ancient Ægæ or Edessa; the stronger modern metropolis Pella; Thessalonica, Amphipolis, Pelagonia, respectively the capitals of great provinces; all these, with many inferior cities, invited the Romans within their walls; and, so vigilant was the discipline of Emilius[68]! found no reason to repent their confidence. In the course of a few days, the consul was master of the whole country, stretching two hundred miles from Thrace to Epirus, and of nearly an equal extent between Dardania and Thessaly; and thus forming the compact materials of a kingdom industrious, opulent, and warlike, deriving high popular fame from an antiquity of seven centuries under a succession of thirty kings, yet entitled to juster renown from the single reign of Philip, father of Alexander; for Alexander's glory spurning the limits of Macedon, belongs to the whole Grecian name, diffused throughout the world.

Proceedings of Perseus after his escape from the field of battle.

The success of Emilius, equally complete and rapid, occasioned a deep sensation among neighbouring kingdoms; but to avoid interruption in explaining this subject, we shall previously relate the proceedings of vanquished Perseus, after his escape from the field of battle.

[58] Paulus per omnes deditas civitates dimissis, qui præessent, ne qua injuria in nova pace victis fieret. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 46.

Accompanied by his horse guards and courtiers, he, at first, purposed to pursue the military road to Pella; but, in his way thither, his flight was interrupted by crowds of disbanded Macedonians, who, frantic with rage and disappointment, upbraided the king and his companions as the authors of their woeful disgrace. To avoid a dangerous conflict with his own exasperated soldiers, Perseus struck into the Pierian forest, and followed its woody windings with an escort which continually diminished on the way. By this circuitous route, he arrived at Pella about midnight. His first care was to visit his treasury; Enetus, who had the charge of it, interposing some unseasonable remonstrances, was silenced by a poignard. Above 2000 talents were got ready for transportation: the royal children, inhabiting the palace of Pella, two sons named respectively Philip and Alexander, and a nameless daughter, were also ordered to accompany their father's flight. Before day-break, the king left Pella that he might cross the Axius, and oppose that river, difficult of passage, to the pursuit of the enemy. Such was his dispatch that, on the second day after the battle, he arrived with his family and precious effects at Amphipolis, above a hundred miles distant from Pydna. But the news of his defeat had preceded him. He was not attended by any of his ministers or generals, or even by a single Macedonian soldier. Only five hundred mercenary Cretans adhered, not indeed to the person of Perseus, but to his treasures, which the loyal

Transactions at Pella.

At Amphipolis.

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compassion of his subjects had allowed him to carry in his train. Of all those denominated the king's friends, there remained with him only Evander the Cretan, Neon the Bœotian, and Archidamus the Etolian; all three accomplices in his open crimes, and partakers in his more guilty secrets. At Amphipolis, he purposed to address the multitude, holding his elder son Philip by the hand: but his voice was soon stifled by his tears. Evander then standing up to speak for his master, was rejected by a loud outcry; "Begone quickly from hence, lest you should bring destruction on the few Macedonians who are left." Thus reprobated by every portion of his subjects, Perseus, however, was allowed to embark on the Strymon with his children, his treasures, the Cretans, and the royal pages[69], and to sail to the isle of Samothrace, about four-score miles distant.[70]

In Samothrace. Olymp. cliii. 1. B.C. 168.

In his happier days, this island had acknowledged his protection, though governed internally by its own magistrates, a priestly colony from the sacred city Pessinus, in Lesser Asia.[71] Ever anxious to extend their traffic, the citizens of Pessinus had occupied, as a convenient staple, the central isle of Samothrace, adorned it with a spacious temple, and introduced into it the fantastic rites of the Pessinuntian goddess, which had procured for the place equal security and celebrity.[72] Into this inviolable sanctuary, Per-

[69] See above, vol. i. p. 297.

[70] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 45.

[71] See above, vol. i. p. 126. et seqq.

[72] Strabo, l. x. Conf. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

seus found admittance, before a Roman detachment came in quest of him to Amphipolis. Soon afterwards, with the same design, the pretor Octavius sailed to Samothrace. To draw the king from the temple, a remonstrance was sent to its governors, against protecting within their asylum, men stained with the guilt of blood. This observation was levelled at Evander, whom the Romans regarded as a notorious assassin; but, should Evander be convicted on trial, Perseus, of whom he had been the guilty instrument, had reason to fear for himself. The king, under this apprehension, endeavoured to persuade Evander to avoid a disgraceful execution by a voluntary death. Evander, having demurred to this proposal, was taken off secretly; which cruelty towards a man long devoted to him, totally alienated from Perseus the remaining companions of his flight. Many of them went over to the Romans, and the king, in danger of being deserted by all around him, formed the resolution of attempting his escape.[73]

His fruitless attempt to escape from thence.

There was in Samothrace a certain Oroandes, a Cretan merchant, well acquainted with the coasts of Thrace, to which he had long traded. With him Perseus bargained for a conveyance to his ally Cotys, the patriotic and honest chieftain of the Odrysians; who cordially hated the Romans, because the Romans were hostile to the independence of his country. The vessel of Oroandes stood in the harbour Demetrium, at

[73] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 5, 6.

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no great distance from the temple. It was concerted, that Perseus should send thither, about midnight, as much of his treasure as could conveniently be removed; and then, following in person, proceed secretly to the vessel that he would find waiting for him. On the part of the king all was duly performed; but, before he came to Demetrium the false Cretan had already put to sea with his embarked gold. Upon this dreadful disappointment, Perseus, with only three persons privy to his plan of flight, wandered about disconsolate and speechless on the shore, till the approaching morn admonished him of his danger in being discovered without the precincts of the sanctuary. The king returned thither, and was found skulking at day-break in an obscure corner of the temple. On the same day, Octavius caused proclamation by heralds, of liberty and safety to all persons within the sacred inclosure, who should voluntarily surrender, with perfect security as to their property, whether carried with them to Samothrace, or left behind them in Macedon. The summons was obeyed universally, even by the royal pages, and by Ion of Thessalonica, who held in his custody the king's younger children. [74]

Is sent with his family to Rome.

Perseus being thus deserted by all, but his son Philip, embarked, together with his family and remaining treasures, aboard the admiral galley, and was carried by Octavius to Amphipolis, from which city he was sent forward to Siræ

[74] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 5, 6. & Plutarch. in Emil.

Their wretched fate.

beyond the Strymon, where the consul had by this time fixed his camp. In safe custody he thenceforward remained, till, in the following year, he adorned Emilius's triumph, over which, though his own worthlessness repelled sympathy, the misfortunes of his two accompanying sons cast a melancholy gloom. After exhibiting this sad spectacle of fallen greatness, he lived four years in confinement at Alba. Only his younger son Alexander survived him; a youth who, in the solid enjoyment derived from ingenious though humble arts, learned to deride the gilded prospects of ambition. His productions, as a turner and carver, were much praised; and, after he had learned the Latin tongue, the elegance of his penmanship made his services, in the capacity of scribe, particularly acceptable to the magistrates. Thus ended, in the lowly occupation of an official clerk, the royal dynasty of Macedon, which in a succession of thirty kings, boasted the deepest politicians and mightiest conquerors.[75]

Emilius's proceedings in Macedon.

Thirteen days after the battle of Pydna, the Romans received an account of his victory from Emilius, who, without waiting for the orders of his country, declared the Macedonians a free nation; meaning thereby, that they were rescued from the dominion of kings. The blame of the war was thrown wholly on Perseus; "the Romans had taken arms, not only to revenge their own wrongs, but to deliver from oppression a long injured people.

[75] Ibid. l. xlvi. c. 16. Conf. Plutarch. in Emil.

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Half the revenues, which the Macedonians had paid to their tyrant, would satisfy their Roman protectors." By such declarations, Emilius confirmed the good will of the vanquished; and the whole kingdom afforded such proofs of grateful submission, that its affairs might be safely entrusted to the care of his lieutenants. Until commissioners should come from the senate and empower him to settle definitively the affairs of his invaluable conquest, Emilius, therefore, employed part of the autumn in a journey through Greece, accompanied by his younger son Scipio, and by Athenæus, brother to Eumenes. For this undertaking, curiosity was the fair pretext; a curiosity, to visit scenes adorned by the arts, and ennobled by great achievements. But policy was, doubtless, the consul's predominant motive: the partisans of Rome were to be exalted; the champions of Grecian independence were to be abashed.[76] In every city, which he entered, Emilius met with a reception suitable to his late brilliant success. The Delphians had formerly voted a statue to Perseus, whose superstition sometimes assumed the guise of liberality. A column to support the figure had been erected; but the honour intended for the vanquished king, was prudently transferred to his conqueror.[77]

His progress through Greece and honours paid to him.

During this peaceful progress through Greece, then enjoying the most perfect tranquillity, a war still raged on the frontier of that country.

War in Epirus—bold resistance of Passaro.

[76] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 27. [77] Id. ibid.

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Olymp. cliii. 2. B.C. 167.

Conformably to the plan of operations concerted at the commencement of the campaign, while Emilius and Octavius invaded the eastern provinces of Macedon, the pretor Anicius had been employed against its allies in western Illyricum and Epirus. After the defeat and captivity of Gentius, Anicius moved from Scodra the capital of that unfortunate prince, and conducted his victorious legions into Epirus. Many strongholds surrendered to him on the first summons: others opened their gates after a feeble resistance; but he was defied insultingly at Passaro, a strong inland city, which had been the capital of the kingdom, before Pyrrhus transferred his palace to Ambracia on the sea-coast. The firmness of Passaro might originate in the remembrance, that it had long been the seat of a free government, where the king and nation of the Epirots annually plighted their faith to each other; the king to govern constitutionally and justly, and the people to uphold his authority, while it was exerted according to law.[78] But the proud obstinacy of this city was unseasonably prolonged by the artifices of its magistrates, the most conspicuous abettors of Perseus, and the principal authors of the revolt of Epirus from Rome. Passaro was on the point of falling a victim to their selfish purpose of defending, at every risk, their own obnoxious persons, when Theodotus, a young Epirot, changed the public resolution, by exclaiming, that he had known

Its motives.

[78] Plutarch. in Pyrrho.

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many willing to die for their country, but had never seen any man, except Antinous (the chief magistrate of Passaro), that wished his country to die for him. While the place prepared to capitulate, this Antinous with his adherents broke into the nearest Roman station, and died with arms in their hands, instead of awaiting the executioner.[79]

Emilius met by 500 Etolian fugitives.

Anicius, having received the submission of Passaro, distributed his troops into winter-quarters, and returned northwards to Scodra to meet five Roman commissioners who had come thither to settle the affairs of Illyricum, at the same time that ten others sailed to Macedon to adjust with Emilius the measures proper to be adopted with regard to that kingdom. The latter commission, headed by three men of consular dignity, arrived at Apollonia in the Chalcidicé, a harbour at the foot of mount Athos, and near the more ancient city Acroathos, whose inhabitants were celebrated for a longevity exceeding twice the ordinary term of human life.[80] In his way to Apollonia, Emilius, whose journey had been hitherto uninterrupted, was met at Demetrias by a miserable crowd of Etolians, amounting to about five hundred, who complained to him of their expulsion in beggary from their country. During Anicius's war in Epirus, a party of Roman soldiers had entered the neighbouring district of Etolia, and interfered with a vengeful hand in the factions of

[79] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 26. [80] Pomponius Mela, l. ii. in Thracia.

that turbulent commonwealth. Their commander Bæbius, being instigated by Etolians in the Roman interest, had lent his assistance in a cruel persecution of their opponents: many of these were put to death, and the five hundred supplicants to Emilius had escaped relentless vengeance by a precipitate flight from their families and possessions. Emilius commanded them to attend him at Amphipolis, in which city he purposed to fix his head quarters until the final settlement of Macedon. With this view, he sailed from Demetrias to Apollonia, and being there joined by the commissioners, proceeded forward with them to Amphipolis, an ordinary day's journey.[81]

Final settlement of Macedon and Illyricum. Olymp. cliii. 2. B.C. 167.

According to orders previously issued through all parts of Macedon, the deputies from every city and district had assembled at Amphipolis, that they might learn the doom of their country. On a day appointed, these deputies were conducted before Emilius, now proconsul, seated on a lofty tribunal in the midst of a spacious court, and surrounded on either hand by commissioners from the senate. A solemn awe was imposed by the crowd of heralds and lictors, and other officers with new names or unusual badges, above all, by the majestic aspect of the Roman conqueror. Emilius, in the Latin language, declared the will of the senate. Octavius, the Roman admiral, translated his words into Greek: "According to the promises for-

[81] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 28.

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merly made to the Macedonians, the nation," he said, "was to enjoy its own laws, to be tried by its own judges, and to pay only one half of the taxes raised under its regal government. But, besides these flattering circumstances, the kingdom was in future to be divided into four distinct states, each with its separate jurisdiction and its separate capital. Pella and Thessalonica were to be the capitals of the two rich central provinces separated by the river Axius. In the east, Amphipolis, the scene of the present council, was to preside over the territory contiguous to Thrace; and Pelagonia was to hold the same rank in the west, over the country bordering on Illyricum. In these four great cities, all public councils were to be held, all magistrates to be elected, and all pecuniary contributions to be deposited. The four jurisdictions dependant on them were to avoid all connection with each other, not only in matters of government, but even in treaties of marriage and commercial intercourse. No troops were to be kept on foot in Macedon, except on the frontiers peculiarly exposed to Barbarians: the mines of gold and silver were not to be wrought; and the timber fit for ship-building was not to be cut down, either for sale abroad or for use at home." Such were the arrangements which the proconsul Emilius made in Macedon; and such was the plan of government which the pretor Anicius had already established in Illyricum, except that the latter country, as far poorer and less important, was

Illiberal and cruel conditions imposed on them.

divided into three governments only, and that such of its districts as had early sided with the Romans, obtained a complete exemption from tribute.[82] Hard as the conditions were, no remonstrance to them was made; the armies of both countries had been defeated, and the kings of both were in the hands of the victors.

Emilius's harshness to the Etolian fugitives.

After settling in this summary manner the affairs of Macedon, Emilius admitted to a hearing the Etolian exiles. In examining their cause, the main question was, whether they had ever acted as partisans of king Perseus? and, as they could not justify themselves from this imputation, he told them that Rome was not called on to redress their wrongs; that their own banishment and the murder of their friends were matters of which he could not take cognisance; at the same time he severely censured Bæbius, the Roman officer, for lending his aid in the sedition, and interfering irregularly in the affairs of Etolia.[83]

Deputies and accusers in the camp of Emilius. Olymp. cliii. 2. B.C. 167.

The attention of surrounding nations was deeply fixed on the proceedings at Amphipolis. Under pretence of congratulations on the victory at Pydna, ambassadors had flocked to Rome from every kingdom, every commonwealth, and almost every city belonging to the Grecian name, either in Europe or in Asia. Nearly as numerous a conflux of deputies attended the camp of the proconsul in Macedon. These men, who had most of them been zealous partisans of

[82] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 18—26. et seq. [83] Id. ibid.

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Rome, and thereby acquired much influence in their respective countries, embraced the present favourable occasion for confirming unalterably their ascendency. For this purpose, they denounced by name, to the proconsul, all those of their fellow-citizens suspected of abetting the king of Macedon. Some were convicted by the evidence of letters found among Perseus's papers, which had come into the possession of the Romans, at the same time that they seized his money and other precious effects. But most of the accused were alike unfriendly to Macedon and to Rome, and to the treacherous partisans of both these usurping powers. Lists of such pretended culprits, containing several thousand names, were given to Emilius and his assessors by Mnesippus the Bœotian, Chremes the Acarnanian, Nicias the Epirot, Liciscus and Tisippus Etolians; and the unworthy Achæans Callicrates, Aristodemus, Agesias, and Philip.

None of these from Athens, and why.

It deserves remark, that no accusers appeared among the Athenians. This people, long the busiest and most ungovernable of all the Greeks, had early and universally abandoned, not only the cause of Macedon but of Grecian freedom; and, instead of their old turbulent democracy, enjoyed peace without honour, under the indulgent protection of Rome; an indulgence in their case the more conspicuous, in proportion to the stern policy adopted with regard to their neighbours.

Orders for seizing the accused Greeks

Orders were dispatched to the several states implicated in the accusation, to seize all persons named in the lists just given to

Emilius, that they might be transported to Rome and there tried for their offences. To this severe mandate, the only exception was in favour of Achaia. The papers of Perseus afforded not the smallest proof of a secret correspondence between that unfortunate prince and any city, or even any individual, belonging to the Achæan league, which then extended over the whole of Peloponnesus. The names, however, of a thousand Achæans appeared in the list of Macedonian partisans; and those names included Polybius, Xeno, Stratius, together with many others who had borne high offices in the state or army; in a word, all persons obnoxious to Callicrates and his unworthy faction. It was suspected by the Romans, that a mere order to seize men so popular, might be disobeyed by a state still powerful. The two principal commissioners, therefore, Caius Claudius and Domitius Enobarbus, immediately repaired to Corinth, and were introduced by Callicrates into the Achæan diet. Without apology or preface, they arraigned a numerous party in Achaia, as having acted in concert with Perseus, and required sentence of death to be passed on such base conspirators. You will first, replied the pretor of the Achæans, name the guilty, and make good your charge against them. I name then, rejoined the Roman commissioner, all who have of late years commanded in your armies or presided in your councils. They are all traitors to Rome and to their country. Xeno, who had recently been general, then replied unguardedly, in the consciousness of innocence,

and transporting them for trial to Rome. Olymp. cliii. 3. B.C. 166.

A thousand principal Achæans in the number.

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"In that case, even I shall be held criminal, though at all times ready to defend my cause and confound my accusers, either here in Achaia, or even in Rome itself." The commissioners laid hold of these last words: "You say right; let the whole cause be referred to the senate:" accordingly they produced the list with which Callicrates had furnished them; gave orders that the persons named in it should be transported to Italy; and such was the power usurped from this moment by the Roman faction in Achaia, that these orders were carried strictly into execution.[84] For seventeen years the Achæans remained in exile; they were at length released, after repeated embassies for that purpose, through the authority of Polybius with his pupil and friend Scipio, and the influence of Scipio with Cato the Censor.[85] Their number had been reduced by this time from one thousand to three hundred. At departure, they lingered about the senate-house in hopes of some new favour, when Cato said to Polybius, "You do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. Why would you return to the den of the Cyclops in quest of your belt and helmet?"[86] With honest Romans, the selfish policy of their country had become, it seems, a subject of raillery.

Treatment of Antissa in Lesbos.

This proceeding towards Achaia was accompanied in other parts with severities, as tamely tolerated as they were tyrannically inflicted.

[84] Pausanias Achaic. p. 416. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 30. & Polyb. l. xxx. c. 10.

[85] Polybius, l. xxxv. c. 6.

[86] Plutarch. in Caton. Major.

During the Macedonian war, Antissa in the isle of Lesbos had received and victualled some vessels belonging to Perseus. To punish this delinquency, Labeo, a Roman commissioner, sailing from Amphipolis to Lesbos, commanded the instant demolition of the harbour and city of Antissa. Its wretched inhabitants, deprived of their homes and of all means of subsistence, solicited the compassion of their neighbours of Methymna, and found safety in that place, which had not offended the Romans. [87]

Cruel inquisition in Rhodes.

After the defeat and captivity of Perseus, Popilius Lænas and Caius Decimius, who had sailed from Italy in the double capacity of admirals and ambassadors, finding their exertions in the former character no longer necessary at Delos, left that island to proceed on their destined course to Egypt with a commission, whose nature and result will presently be explained. In coasting along Asia, they came to Lorima, a Carian city, twenty miles distant from the isle of Rhodes, and situate in direct view of its capital. Thither some Rhodians in authority came to meet them, and requested that, before prosecuting their intended voyage, they would first land at Rhodes, and examine with their own eyes the disposition and temper of a commonwealth, whose faults had been greatly exaggerated. After much solicitation, the ambassadors complied: they were conducted to the magistrates, and by them introduced into the assembly of the people. Instead of waiting to hear the

[87] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 31.

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apologies ready to be offered, Popilius expatiated on the offences that had been given; repeated and aggravated every report to the disadvantage of the Rhodians; and being naturally a man of great asperity, heightened the bitterness of his sentiments by an angry voice and a threatening countenance. His colleague Decimius assumed a tone altogether different. He charged the faults, of which the Rhodians now repented and were ashamed, on the treachery of a few corrupt counsellors. The people at large, he doubted not, were innocent; and would be ready, now that it was in their power, to punish the guilty. The assembly testified approbation, not only at his vindication of the public, but at the blame thrown on individuals; and when the Rhodian magistrates rose up to reply, those who repelled the charges of Popilius were heard with less satisfaction than others who re-echoed the sentiments of his colleague. Accordingly, a decree passed, that all Rhodians who had co-operated with Perseus, either in word or deed, should be punished capitally. The ambassadors remained only five days at Rhodes; but the criminal prosecutions, begun before their departure, continued to hold to the end the same bloody course. The accused either suffered a legal execution, or laid violent hands on themselves: the general and fatal calamity was avoided by a few individuals only more obnoxious than the rest, who had fled into banishment upon the arrival of Roman commissioners in their island.[88]

[88] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 10.

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Humiliating speech of the Rhodians in the senate. Olymp. cliii. 2. B.C. 167.

This dreadful expiation might have satisfied the resentment, and even the pride, of Rome. Yet shortly afterwards, when Rhodian ambassadors appeared in that capital, they were denied the courteous hospitality which the Romans were accustomed to exercise towards strangers in a public character. They had at first assumed white robes, to testify their joy for the defeat and ruin of Perseus, but they were allowed to remain in the midst of the market-place, until they procured quarters in a mean inn, from which they issued next day in sordid garbs, and beset with supplications the dwellings of the senators. When a public hearing was at length granted to them, they entered the senate-house with olive branches in their hands, and with streaming eyes prostrated their bodies on the ground. Astymedes, the head of the embassy, then rising slowly, and endeavouring to collect his thoughts and summon his resolution, reminded his judges of the happier days of Rhodes, when a strenuous ally to Rome in the memorable wars against Philip and Antiochus. On those important occasions, the whole resources of his republic, and of every individual composing it, had been unceasingly exerted in the Roman service. "In the late war with Perseus, the demerit of the Rhodians was merely negative; no substantial aid had been afforded to the king of Macedon; and the provoking embassies sent from Rhodes in his favour, were to be ascribed solely to the rashness and madness of a few turbulent individuals, who had

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suffered death by the sentence of their country, or perished by their own hands." In examining the question of peace or war with Rhodes, the senators were divided. The Romans, most adverse to that people, were those who had been employed in arms or embassies in the course of the four years' war with Perseus. Another party espoused their defence, headed by Cato the Censor, then in his sixty-sixth year, but in the highest bloom of his virtues and his eloquence. With that commanding attitude, which he assumed in every debate, he converted the accusations against the Rhodians into their highest panegyric. "They had opposed the views of Rome, only because Rome forsook and deserted those ancient maxims which had caused her greatness and constituted her glory. They wished not to save Perseus from ruin for his own sake, but chiefly that they might spare the Romans the evils attending unbounded prosperity and the unbridled licence of power. In the zeal of patriotism, and the natural loftiness which it inspires, the Rhodians had interposed in favour of a Greek king in a tone of command unwarranted, indeed, by their real strength. But those offensive embassies, if considered more deeply, were to be deemed of the same nature with painful but salutary remedies. They were admonitions of a wise and friendly state, like those of one true friend to another, calculated for restraining guilty passions, and thereby preventing the dishonour and ruin that

Their interests espoused by Cato the Censor.

must inevitably follow their gratification."[89] The interposition of Cato averted from Rhodes the fate of Antissa. Pardon was granted to the island; but the same decree confirmed the emancipation of its dependencies in Caria and Lycia. Polycrates, with part of the ambassadors, carried this intelligence to Rhodes; Astymedes, with the remainder, continued at Rome to watch occurrences, and to derive every possible advantage from them. The decree of the senate was received by the Rhodian magistrates with well affected gratitude; and a crown of gold, weighing 20,000 aurei[90], was sent as a peace-offering to Rome.

Affairs of Syria and Egypt. Olymp. clii. 1. B.C. 172.

Popilius and Decimius, having for ever humbled an island illustrious in arts from immemorial antiquity, and which had upheld renown in arms for the space of an hundred and fifty years, prosecuted their voyage to Egypt, on a mission of which it is now necessary to explain the object. Antiochus Epiphanes, after mounting the throne of Syria in the manner above related, to the prejudice of Demetrius, the son of his elder brother, set himself to amass money by contrivances unusual and impious; and productive, as will be seen in the sequel, of very extraordinary consequences. His treasures enabled him greatly to reinforce his Syrian army by bodies of more hardy mercenaries; and he was eager to employ it wherever the richest and

[89] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 22. et seq.

[90] Each aureus was then 16 shillings in value.

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easiest conquests might be made. Egypt was the old and natural rival of Syria, and had degenerated still more in manly valour, than it had declined in arts and opulence. But, in the minority of Ptolemy Philometor, Egypt was governed by his mother Cleopatra, sister to Antiochus, a prudent and virtuous princess, who maintained good government at home, and was careful to preserve peace abroad. Cleopatra, however, survived her brother's accession to the throne of Syria only three years; and Antiochus, by means of ambassadors sent to Alexandria to grace the coronation of her son, discovered that the ministers of the young prince purposed to renew their master's claim to the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palæstine.

War between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor. Olymp. clii. 2. cliii. 1. B. C. 171—168.

Antiochus needed no stronger inducement to commence his meditated war against Egypt. He four times invaded that kingdom in the four successive years that the Romans carried on operations against Macedon.[91] His first campaign was distinguished by an important victory at Pelusium. In his second expedition he not only completely defeated Philometor, but made captive his person, treating him, however, with much kindness, and sparing the blood of his subjects. In this manner he gained an ascendency over the whole country, except one city. But this city was the strong and wealthy Alexandria, containing more purity of Grecian blood, and more military resources, than were

[91] Diodorus Excerp. p. 579—624. 2 Maccab. c. v.

now to be found in all the rest of the kingdom collectively. The Alexandrians chose for their king the younger brother of Philometor, and honoured him with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, though he is usually distinguished in history by his nick-name Physcon, acquired, when he grew older, from his excessive corpulency.[92] Antiochus in a third expedition laid siege to Alexandria, which baffled all his efforts, while Physcon, in conjunction with his sister Cleopatra, sent an embassy to Rome, representing the deplorable condition to which their country was reduced through the ambition of an encroaching neighbour their own unnatural uncle, and their not less unworthy brother, who had submitted to become his vassal. Domestic events, which will afterwards be related, withdrew Antiochus from the siege of Alexandria. He left Philometor in Memphis, as titular sovereign of Egypt, but was careful to garrison Pelusium. Upon his departure, the two brothers, through the intervention chiefly of Rhodian ambassadors, entered into a friendly correspondence, and peace was the more earnestly desired on the part of Physcon, because the Alexandrians greatly depended for subsistence on provisions conveyed by the Nile; and on the part of Philometor, because the city held by his brother was the only place strong enough to resist Antiochus, should he, a fourth time, invade the country.[93] This event took

[92] Diodor. ibid.

[93] Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 16. l. xxix. c. 8. & Justin, l. xxiv.

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Antiochus's progress to Alexandria arrested by Popilius Lænas. Olymp. cliii. 1. B. C. 168.

place, and Antiochus had advanced to Eleusis, within four miles of Alexandria, when his progress was arrested by the Roman ambassador Popilius Lænas, and his colleagues Decimius and Hostilius. At sight of Popilius, whom he had well known during his residence of thirteen years at Rome, Antiochus testified much joy, and extended both arms to embrace him. Bu the Roman rejected his salutation, and, sternl unfolding the written orders which he had re ceived from the senate, presented them to th king, and commanded him to give them an im mediate perusal. Antiochus ran over the tablets and declared that he would deliberate on thei contents with his friends. But the Roman, wh as we have already seen, was a man qualified t execute the haughtiest instructions in th haughtiest manner, stretched forth his rod, an tracing with it a line in the sand, round th king's person, said, "You must answer th senate before you stir from this circle." Anti ochus knew the character of the Romans and of their ambassador; his nephew Demetrius the rightful king of Syria, was in their hands; they had formerly gained decisive victories in Asia, and their recent conquest of Macedon would facilitate a new invasion of that continent. He therefore rejoined, with a faultering accent, "I will obey the senate." Popilius then embraced him as his ancient friend.[94] By means of the same embassy, peace was concluded be-

Philometor and Physcon

[94] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 12.

tween the two Egyptian brothers, on condition that they should reign conjointly: Antiochus withdrew his army from Egypt; and the Romans sailed to Cyprus, which had been conquered by a Syrian fleet; and, by the mere interposition of their authority, restored the whole island to the dominion of the Ptolemies, its ancient masters.[95]

reign conjointly.

Transportation to Rome of the Macedonian nobles.

While the pride of the senate thus trampled on Alexander's successors in the east, its tyranny, mixed with cruelty, was exercised in a manner unexampled over not only the kingdom of Perseus, but over Greece, Illyricum, Epirus; in one word, over all the ancient Macedonian dependencies in the west. From just hatred to Perseus, the new constitution of Macedon had been accepted without murmur: in order formally to ratify it, deputies from the several cities and districts had assembled at Amphipolis. In this convention, Emilius told the Macedonians, that the institutions which he had given them, just and liberal as they were, and highly calculated to promote the real happiness of the nation, could not, however, be lasting, unless the country were disburdened of men altogether incapable themselves of relishing such fair arrangements, and who would therefore spare no pains to render them unpalatable and odious to others. That men, accustomed to pompous courts and arbitrary kings, had neither tempers nor understandings suited to the generous maxims of

[95] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 12.

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equal freedom. He therefore enjoined the Macedonians, and persuaded them that the injunction was essential to their best interests, to banish the friends and servants of Perseus; persons who distinguished themselves from the multitude of their fellow-citizens, not more clearly by their purple attire, than by the proud complexion of their minds: trained in habits of commanding haughtily, and obeying servilely; some of them immoderately rich; and others poor through profligacy, yet surpassing the former in ruinous habits of expense. All such persons, accordingly, including not only governors and generals, but every inferior officer serving by sea and land, and even all those who had at any time been entrusted by the court with the slightest employment at home, or legation abroad, together with their male children above the age of fifteen years, were commanded, under pain of death, to embark on board transports ready to convey them to Italy[96]; and, what is most extraordinary in the whole transaction, this rigid decree was tamely complied with.

Festival at Amphipolis. Olymp. cliii. 2. B. C. 167.

After thus separating from the mass of the community, materials which he had declared unfit for cordially combining with it, Emilius proclaimed a solemn festival at Amphipolis, of which he had long entertained the design, and concerning which he had already given intimation, not only to the several cities on his way

[96] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 32

through Greece, but likewise to all the Greek confederates in Asia. Never did the Olympic games, of which those at Amphipolis were, in some sort, an imitation, attract such splendid troops of spectators or actors: and amidst this immense concourse of strangers, such was the plenty of the country that provisions of every kind remained at the lowest price. In the banquets given by Emilius, the disposition was not less excellent than the materials; and, to the compliments paid him on that score, he replied, that the man who was not fit to arrange an entertainment, could not be well qualified to array an army. The peculiar distinction of the show consisted in an exhibition of the invaluable spoils of Perseus and his palaces; which spoils, with a sum equivalent nearly to 2,000,000*l.* sterling, in money, were embarked under the care of Octavius, to be conveyed to the treasury of Rome.

Plunder of Illyricum.

Having finished his transactions at Amphipolis, the proconsul, at the head of his army, marched in five days to Pella. He encamped two days in the neighbourhood of that city, but immediately sent forward a detachment under his eldest son Quintus Maximus and Scipio Nasica, to plunder those districts in Illyricum, which had shown most zeal in the cause of Perseus. After performing this service, the detachment was to meet him at Oricum, the Illyrian harbour nearest to Italy. Meanwhile he proceeded with the main army, westward, and in

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Desolation of Epirus.

fifteen marches reached Passaro, the ancient capital of Epirus, and long the head of a just monarchy, where kings and people exchanged mutual oaths of protection and allegiance.[97]

In that neighbourhood, the pretor Anicius still continued to encamp, after reducing, as we have seen, the adjacent country, and garrisoning its principal strong-holds. Emilius warned him not to be surprised at the events which must soon be transacted around him; "for the senate had granted as a boon to his own army, the spoils of the rebellious Epirots." After this message, a general, extolled by all historians for humanity as well as probity, concerted measures for executing effectually, and with the least danger to himself, commands never exceeded in atrocity by the most barbarous conqueror. A due number of centurions was dispatched through the several cities of Epirus, on pretence of freeing them from garrisons, and of summoning ten deputies from each city to Passaro. These deputies were sent home with orders to collect all the gold and silver within their respective departments; and to hold it by a certain day, at the disposal of the Roman general. When the day approached, his several cohorts began to march with such a nice adjustment of time and distance, that they appeared at once, and for one purpose, before all the different cities of Epirus. In the morning, the gold and silver had been deposited; four hours afterwards, the cohorts received signal for a general pillage;

[97] See above, Vol. II. p. 149. & 150.

their spoil was so considerable, that each horseman's share may be estimated at thirteen pounds, and each foot soldier's at half that sum. One hundred and fifty thousand Epirots were dragged into slavery; the walls of the plundered cities, to the number of seventy, were demolished; a sale followed of the slaves and other booty; and part of the money, arising from it, was divided also among the soldiers.[98]

Wealth accumulated in the war—how employed by the Romans.

The proconsul proceeded immediately afterwards to Oricum, where he met the detachment under his son Maximus, enriched by the plunder of Illyricum. Preparations were then made for crossing the Hadriatic; and, as a small body of troops, properly distributed, was sufficient to command countries drained alike of all military resources, and of all men qualified to employ them, the far greater proportion of the Romans sailed for Italy in two embarkations; first, the conquerors of Macedon under Emilius; and next, under Anicius, the conquerors of Illyricum and Epirus. These generals, as well as Octavius, commander of the Roman fleet, who had ably co-operated with them, held their respective triumphs. The objects displayed in the procession of Emilius were incomparably the most precious: besides crowns of gold, captives, and armour, they exhibited a profusion of pictures, and statues, and vases; clothes and hangings of the most delicate fa-

[98] Livy, as if ashamed of the transaction, hurries through it in four short sentences. His account (l. xlv. c. 34.) is wanting in perspicuity; and the defect is not supplied by Plutarch. in Emil. p. 271.

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bric, curiously constructed couches or triclinia, innumerable carved works in gold, silver, and ivory; in one word, the same splendour that had appeared twenty-two years before, in the triumph over Antiochus the Great; for those Greek kings, allied by blood, and tastes, and habits to each other, all affected the same elegancies, and delighted in the same kinds of magnificence. Of all the treasures taken with Perseus, or found in his palaces, Emilius reserved nothing of value for himself or his family; if we except the library of the conquered king, which the general bestowed on his younger son Scipio, who had already, in his eighteenth year, discovered that taste for elegant learning, which thenceforth honourably distinguished him. The Macedonian coin, carried in procession, is difently reported, but may be fairly estimated at 1,806,041*l.* sterling[99]; the gold seized in Illyricum amounted to a tenth part of that sum; we know not how much of the booty of Epirus, after gratifying private rapacity, was carried into the public treasury. But the whole aggregate wealth brought thither upon this oc-

[99] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 40. Pliny, N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 9. Livy states the amount at sestertium millies ducenties; Pliny, at bis millies trecenties; Velleius, at bis millies centies. The rules of criticism will therefore warrant the reading of bis millies ducenties, equivalent to 1,806,041*l.* As much more, Livy says, was spent by Perseus in preparations for the war, or dispersed in his flight; and we may fairly allow an equal sum for distributions to the Roman army, for plunder and peculation. So that the whole amount accumulated in the royal treasury in the course of thirty years since Philip's ruinous war with the Romans, may be computed at 5,418,128*l.*

casion, formed an important era at Rome, since, in consequence of this acquisition, joined with the tribute imposed on Macedon and its dependencies, and the long growing revenues derived from other sources, the republic reached such a pitch of opulence, as thenceforward exempted its citizens from all payment of taxes.[100] This stream of wealth which continued thus copiously to flow into Rome, was liberally expended in works chiefly of public use; temples, fortifications, aqueducts, highways, market-places, and bridges; above all, in the improvement of the agriculture of Italy, in its whole extent, from Rhegium to Aquileia. The Romans were so far from hoarding their riches, like most of the powers which they had recently conquered, that their treasury, when examined only ten years after the triumph of Emilius, contained little more than the value of half a million sterling.[101]

[100] Cicero. de Offic. l. ii. c. 22. The exemption lasted 125 years, to the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa in the war between Augustus and Antony: it continued therefore long beyond the real existence of the republic. Plutarch. in Emil.

[101] Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME
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